AN ANSWER

made by Command of

PRINCE HENRY,

to *Certain Propoſitions* of

WARRE and PEACE,

Delivered to his HIGHNESSE by ſome of his Military Servants.

Whereunto is adjoyned

THE

FRENCH CHARITY;

OR

An *Eſſay* written in *French* by an *Engliſh* Gentleman, upon occaſion of Prince *Harcourt's* coming into *ENGLAND*;

And tranſlated into Engliſh by F. S. J. E.

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PROPOSITIONS OF WARRE and PEACE

Delivered to his Highneſs

PRINCE HENRY

by ſome of his Military ſervants.

Arguments for Warre.

FRames of *Policy*, as well as works of Nature, [a] are beſt preſerved from the ſame grounds they were firſt founded on. By *Armes* was layd the foundation of this State, whether we reſpect the *Saxon* or the *Norman*. It was Warre that of ſeven Crowns in the *Heptarchy* made one fit for that *Monarchy*, that ſince by many glorious exploits hath made good in forreign parts the renown of her own greatneſſe, and crowned thereby this State with an eternall peace. Times nor our owne vertues are not changed: Neceſſity, Benefit, and Facility of Warre being the ſame that they were before to our forefathers.

[a] *Panſa et Hirtii conſilium Cæſari.*

Reasons of forraign War drawn from

1. Necessity, for

1 Preservation of our own peace.

We never were so near peril by shipwrack in any tempest abroad, as at home by the calm government of *Henry* the sixth. For *France* by the awfull hand of his father reduced, it fared with us as with the mistress of the world, [a] *Remoto Carthaginis metu, et Imperii æmula,* when the fear of *Carthage* her competitour for the Empire was removed, that fell not by degrees, but *Præcipiti cursu ab Armis ad voluptates, à negotio ad otiũ,* rushed headlong from arms to pleasures, from employment to idleness. And from hence as greatest Nations, *cũ ab externis causis tutæ videntur, ipsæ suis viribus onerantur,* when there is no longer fear of forreign enemies, their own strength becomes a burthen to them: so after many conquests abroad, we were at home prest down with the unnatural weight of civil armes: For *cum foris non habent hostem, domi inveniunt*, when people have no enemies abroad, they'l find some at home; as all warlike & fruitful Nations will, not otherwise delivered either of their humours or people. To add to this necessity, the sending away of our factious spirits, it wil remove the seat of bloud from our own doors

2 Venting of factious spirits.

[a] *Velleius Paterculus.*

Reasons of forraign Warre drawn from

1 Necessity, for

3 Instructing in arms our people:

doors, and prove the cheapest school to train up in armes the better dispositions, whose military skil may after serve to defend the State; and by the late accession of another Nation wil be now more needful,[a] *Ne novus populus otio et nimia pecunia lasciviret*, lest *that* other people should grow wanton through too much wealth and idlenesse, and we in the end be enforced with the Satyrist[b] to confesse

a *Tacit An.* 10.

b *Iuvenal.*

Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala, sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit. ——
We suffer now the harm of a long peace,
Whilst Riot, worse then war, doth thus increase,

2 Benefits.

1 Wealth, by

1 Spoil of the Enemy.

2 Addition of Revenue by subjected territories.

The benefis arise from Profit and Honour. The Spoils we have brought away in our *French* & *Spanish* attempts exceeding ever the charge in getting; and the *Revenues* of the subjected Signiories, as *Normandy*, *Aquitain*, &c. supporting with much advantage the expence in keeping: Our *Honour*, as the Stile of our Kings, by confluence of so many Titles increased; and by accession of so many territories as we held in *France*, our dominions and liberties so far inlarged.

2 Honour, by addition of

1 Title.

2 Dominion.

Reasons of forraign War drawn from { 3 A more facility to effect then heretofore, by { 1 Addition of new strength. 2 Substraction of diversions. } } The facility to effect this being now more then ever by the addition of strength, and substraction of diversions, in this happy union of the *Britain Empire*.

AN ANSWER TO THE FORMER Arguments made by the command OF HIS HIGHNESSE.

AS he can give best Rules to preserve the health of a body naturall, that by observing the divers humours, accidents and dispositions thereof, findeth at length the cause from whence it is or well or ill-affected, and so by mixture of Art and Observation sets to his Patient rules of exercise and dyet: so is it in a Kingdome or Commonwealth, If then out of the Registers of Record and Story, the true Remembrancers of Art and Errour in passages of State, it shall appear that those times which have been glori-

Answers to the former Arguments.

1 Affections of our wiſeſt Princes ever to peace.

2 Forraign expeditions
- 1 Rebellions at home.
- 2 Cauſe of
  - 1 Endleſs taxations
  - 2 Vaſſalage.
  - 3 Danger to the State.

3 Confederacy & alliance the means of former victories, no waies to be reſtored as heretofore.

glorified with the mightieſt Princes and wiſeſt Councells, would ever acknowledge that [a]*Pax una triumphis Innumeris potior*; one Peace outgoes for worth Innumerable triumphs; That Combuſtions at home were like Meteors, ever kindled in another Region, but ſpent themſelves there; That our men inſtead of *Lawrell* and *Olive garlands* to adorn with victory & peace our gates and Temples, have ever brought home fire-balls to burn our Cities; That forreign ſpoyls have been ſummed up with *Taxes* and *Penury*; That this addition of *Revenue* hath tyed us to a perpetuall iſſue of our own Treaſure; That by theſe titles of *Honour* we have bought *Slavery*, and by *extenture* of *Territories*, Danger; And that difficulty either to undertake or purſue any forreign enterpriſe now is much more then in any age before; I think that no *Engliſhman* will either love his own errour ſo much, or his Country ſo little, as to adviſe a courſe ſo far eſtranged either from judgement or ſecurity.

[a] *Sil. Ital. lib. 11.*

Examples of the affection of our Kings successively to Peace.

IT is manifest by warrant of our own examples, that the kings of *England*, (except in some heat of Youth, which is not the best directour of Counsell) preferred unjust Peace before the justest War: none inthralling their minds with ambitious desires of extending *Territories*, or imaginary humours of licentious Soveraignty; every one willing to passe his time with content of his private fortunes. Upon this ground *Henry* the second gave 20000. marks[a] *Expensarum nomine*, under the notion of expences, to the *French* king, *ut firmior Pax haberetur*, that he might have a firm and setled Peace. His succeeding sonne *pro quieta clamatione de sorore sua ducenda*, for a peaceable claim to the marriage of his sister, which was like to make a fraction, gave to the *French* King[b] *decem millia librarum*, ten thousand pounds. Three hundred thousand marks *Iohn* gave to the *French* king, to match his calme entrance to a secure peace. Until the confederacy with[c] *Scotland*, and invading of the land by *Charls de Valoys* the *French* king provoked *Edward* the first, he never disquieted *France* with noyse of war, as after he did by the[d] Earls of *Richmond* and *Lancaster*, although *Boniface* the Pope incited him thereunto. His Sonne, the second *Edward*, *anno* 20. requireth the Bishops and Clergy to pray and offer alms for him, and the people of this State; the words are, *ut Deus nos regat et dirigat in mundi hujus turbinibus*, that God would rule and direct us in the troubles of this world; for that having sought all means with *France* he could for Peace, *ut Guerrarum discrimina vitaret*, that he might avoid the dangers of war, he reaped nothing but bitternesse, and detention of his Messengers, Son, and part

a *Benedictus Monachus in vita H. 2.*

b *Ex Matth. Paris pag. 214*

c *Rog. Hoveden.*

d *Ex additam. Prosperi Aquitaniæ Episc.*

c *Rot. Claus. anno secundo E. 3 m. 11.*

part of his *Dutchy* of *Gaſcoigne*, his Rebels injoying all Protection, and his Merchants all Inhoſpitality, whoſe ſhips his enemy *hoſtiliter cepit, et Mercatores interfecit*, took in a hoſtile ſort, and ſlew the Merchants. The Parliament *quinto* of *Edward* 3.[a] was eſpecially called to a conſult how Peace might be procured. In his 17. year[b] the Peers and Commons petition him to labour a peace with *France*, and to ſollicite the Pope for mediation. The truce from hence effected he would by no meanes violate, but in the 20th. year moveth peace by all the offers he[c] can, as *Contracts*, *Intermarriage*, and to take up the Croſſe with *France*, *in ſuccurſum Terræ Sanctæ*, for ſuccour of the Holy Land. But all he could do could abate no whit of the *French* fury,[d] who invaded by themſelves *Aquitain*, *England* by the *Scots*, ſurprizing in breach of Truce his Nobility of *Britain*, whom at *Paris ignominioſæ morti tradidit*, he put to ſhamefull deaths; there and in *Gaſcoign* murdering the reſt of his Subjects, and raſing his Caſtles, nor would upon a ſecond mediation admit any way of peace. War then was left his laſt refuge;[e] *Et pia Arma quibus nulla niſi in Armis ſpes eſt*, War is to that man juſt and lawfull, who hath no hope of help but by war. And this his Clergy was injoyned to open in ſermons, that he might eſchew the infamy of *Chriſtian* bloud-ſhed. In his two and twentieth year finding war to have brought to his people[f] *gravia onera et multa mala*, heavy burthens and many miſchiefs, as the Record ſaith, and that the fortune of war *cum ſplendet fragitur*, when it ſhineth cleareſt is then neareſt breaking; he paſſed over into *France* to ſeek peace divers times; and to ſtrengthen his affe-

a *Ex Rot. Par. anno 5. E. 3. n. r.*

b *Ex Rotul. Parl. anno 17. E. 3.*

c *Ex Rotul. Franciæ an. 19. n. 10.*

d *Ex Rot. Clauſ. in dorſo 20. E. 3. m. 16. part. 2.*

e *Liv. lib. 9.*

f *Rot. Clauſ. ann. 2. Ed 3.*

affections with the best hopes, he injoyneth all the Bishops of *England* to offer [a] *devotas preces supplicitèr ad Deum*, humble and devout prayers to God, to direct his actions to Gods glory and the peace of his Country, *nec non ad totius Christianitatis commodum*, and the advantage of the whole Christian world; which he believed could not follow but by a firm amity with his neighbours. This is the dislike of war he openeth himself in the five & twentieth year [b] in Parliament, declaring the great means he had wrought by the *Pope*, but could not effect it: And in the third year after [c] calleth again the body of the State, to devise with him the means to obtain it; for that he saw his Subjects by war so greatly wasted. But [d] when *anno* 29. to redeem himself and subjects from the hard tasks they had undertaken, and to avoyd *effusionem sanguinis Christiani, quantum potuit, vel decuit, pacem quæsivit*, the shedding of Christian bloud, he sought peace as much as in him lay, and as far as was fitting, sending the Duke of *Lancaster* to *Avignon* in intercession, but all in vain; he stood upon his own strength. By which his confident adversary (the year following captive) that was afore obdurate, justly found, that one houre can overthrow *simul parta et sperata decora*, at once both the honours we enjoy and those we hope for. And we may truly conclude of this Kings successe, as *Livy* [e] of the *Romane* fortune, *Propterea bella felicia gessisse, quia justa*, that therefore his wars were prosperous, because they were just.

To obtain his desire and Subjects quiet, he was contented to disclaim [f] the interest the Right and Fortune had cast upon him. And after, though often

[a] *Dors. Claus. an. 22. E. 3. m. 11. Similiter 8. R. 2. Claus. m. 34.*

[b] *Rot. Parl. anno 25. E. 3.*

[c] *Rot. Parl. anno 28. E. 3.*

[d] *Rot. Parl. anno 29. E. 3.*

[e] *Liv. l. 5. Dec. 5.*

[f] *Ex chart. origin. de renunciat. in Thesaur.*

ten again incited, yet never would be drawn to the hazard of war; for *Improbe Neptunum accuſat qui iterum naufragium facit*, he blames *Neptune* very unjuſtly who ſuffers ſhipwrack the ſecond time: untill the *French* King [a] *contra juramentum & formam pacis*, contrary to his oath and the form of peace, had *vexillis explicatis* with banners diſplayed, invaded his dominions in *France*, and with a Fleet intended to attempt *England*, *ad ipſum Regem viribus ſubvertendum*, utterly to undo the King by force of Arms.

[a] *Clauſ. anno 45. E. 3.*

Richard the ſecond, whom as well he left Succeſſour to his troubles as to his kingdome, entred in the decline of his Grandſires fortune, and after many years of war and much loſſe, had in the end an expectation of peace; which opened to his Commons and Councel in Parliament, [b] their longing affection was ſo much inclined thereto, that they adviſed the King, though it were in doing homage for *Guien*, *Callis* and the reſt, he ſhould not let ſlip that opportunity.

[b] *Rot. Parl. anno 7. R. 2. n. 17.*

Untill *Charles* of *France* had received [c] that dangerous Rebell *Owen Glendowr*, by the name of *Metuendiſſimi Principis Walliæ*, the moſt dread Prince of *Wales*, into a ſtrict confederacy againſt his Maſter (whom he vouchſafed no other title then *Henricus de Lancaſtria*) by contract, and had harrowed the Iſle of *Wight* by the Duke of *Orleans* and Earl of *Saint Paul*, entred into *Gaſcoign* himſelf, and prepared a Fleet and an Army to invade this land, *Henry* the fourth did never diſquiet his peace; and after many prorogued Truces, would not break out again, untill *Burgundy* [d] (that had wreſted into his hand the Government of *France*) meant with

[c] *Ex contra. origin. inter Owinum Glendowr et Regem Francie.*

[d] *Rot. Parl. anno 11. Hen. 4. n. 2.*

with all his force to besiege *Callis*, and annoy this Realm.

The uncle and *Chancellour* to *Henry* the fifth declared in [a]Parliament the desire his Master had to procure Peace, and how the *French* King had refused all reason, denying to render his prisoners, or ransome those taken at *Agincourt* battell: so that the King was driven to his last hope, which was by dint of sword to seek his peace, concluding thus his speech; *Bella faciamus ut Pacem habeamus, quia finis Belli Pax est*: Let us fight, that we may obtain peace; for the end of war is peace.

[a] *Rot. Parl. an. 4 Hen. 5.*

Henry the sixth, to save the expence of his people and treasure, offered [b] many large and liberall conditions, but received in exchange nothing but scoffes: he was contented to part with the Dutchy of *Mayne*, to make up a peace with his uncle of *France*.

[b] *Rot. Parl. anno 14. H. 6. n. 2.*

Against the Duke of *Somerset* it was objected [c] by the Duke of *York*, that he (contrary to the Oath and Councell, by breaking the Amity between the two Princes) was the only ground of the losse of *Normandy*.

[c] *Ex Artic. in Consilio contra D. Somerset.*

There is extant in the Treasury [d] a petition of 9. of *Hen. 7.* from the Captains and military men, *pro pace habenda*, that they might have peace.

[d] *Int. Record. Thes. Westm.*

Neither interest of right, nor jealousie of increasing power, could draw *Henry* the 8. unto the quarrell of *France*; until the Church complained against *Lewis* the 12. [e] who neither esteeming of God, good fame, nor conscience, deteined the revenues of the Clergy, supported the Cardinall *William* to aspire to the *Papacy*, aided in the siege of *Boucy Alfonso* of *Ferrara*, and the *Bentivogli*, both Traytours to the *Papall* Sea, where he

[e] *Ex Bulla Pap. H. 8.*

he intended to lay the foundation of his Empire to usurp all *Italy*,) & besought him for the pitty of our *Saviour*, and by the virtue of his famous Ancestours (for I use the words of the *Popes* Briefe) [a] that never forsook the Church of God in distresse, and by his filiall obedience, (the strongest bond) to enter into that holy *League*, they having elected him against *Lewis*, *Caput fœderis Italici*, Head of the *Italian* League.

[a] *Ex tractatu origin. in l. B. 266.*

Edward the sixth, [b] until urged with the touch of his honour, being by his neighbours neglected in the marriage of their Mistresse, never attempted any war against them.

[b] *Ex procla: E. 6. de expeditione contra Scotos.*

The quarrells of *France* in the time of his succeeding sister, after the marriage with *Spain*, were neither properly ours, nor begun by us, although in the end we onely went away with the losse.

Her Sister of holy memory, to effect the peace with *France*, forbore [c] the demand of *Callis* for 8. years, & neglected to urge a just debt of four millions from that Crown. [d] And the labours she spent to confirm amity with *Spaine*, by many friendly offices of mediation, are apparent to the whole world; though in the end of her desires she failed: whether happily in prevention of the *Spanish Monarchy* eternizing her memory, or that this work of peace was by divine providence reserved for him that could and hath best effected it, I know not. Onely I conclude, that as the first Monarch in *Rome*, so the first in *Britain* might justly write, *Pace Populo Britanno terra marique parta, Ianum clausi*, having setled *Britain* in peace by land and sea, I have shut up the doors of *Ianus* Temple.

[c] *Ex tract. Cambrensi 1569.*

[d] *Ex procla. anno 3. Eliz.*

It

Forreign armes the ground of trouble at home, by the
- Enemy, who to divert will attempt.
- Subjects
  - wearied with Toyl. Taxation.
  - Feared with the effect of tyranny.
  - Inured to wars can never sute after to a quiet life.

It is evident by our own examples, that for the most part, the Civil or Forreign Armies that have oppressed this State, have been either bred out of our first attempting of others, or out of the grievance of the Nobility & people, either wearied with the toil and charge, or feared with the effect of Tyranny, which might corrupt the good fortune of their King, or else (a plague no lesse of war) that the better sort inured to command abroad, have forgotten to obey at home, and the inferiour by living there upon rapine and purchase, unwilling here to tye themselves again to order and industry.

Examples of Invasion drawn from the attempts of others.

There is in the Register of State no time that so well expresseth either the danger or damage we underwent in waking an adversary, as that of *Edward* the third. Out of many examples I will select some few, beginning with the tenth of his reign; at what time his intention was to attempt somewhat in *France*, but diverted by *Philip*, who, mustring *in partibus Britanniæ ad invadendum Regnum Angliæ*, in the parts of *Britany* to invade the Kingdome of *England*, a puissant Army, enforced *Edward* the third to fall from his first purpose, and insist upon his own guard: for which cause, to the infinite charge of himself and people, he levied 80000. men

Ex Rot. Scotiæ anno 10. E. 3. m. 14.

out

out of the Shires of this Kingdome. To withdraw his forces from *France*, in the thirteenth of his reigne, they invaded the Realm, and burned the Towns of *Plymouth* and *Southampton*, places that ſuffered from the ſame motive the like calamity.

In the firſt of *Richard* the ſecond, after the Battell of *Creſſy*, when they feared our too much footing, and we too much believed our own fortune, for ſhe *cito repoſcit quod dedit*, quickly calls for back what ſhe gave us; the a Duke of *Normandy*, to draw home our forces, levieth an Army of forty thouſand men at armes, and forty thouſand foot, ſharing by idle contracts before-hand with his confederates not the ſpoils only, but the Kingdome it ſelf: the Honour and ſome other portion of benefits he reſerved as his own meed; the poſſeſſions of many *Engliſh* Subjects in pure alms he voweth to the Church of *Normandy*, and to the *French* King an yearly tributary Fee of twenty thouſand pound. In theſe termes this Realm ſtood almoſt all the time of *Edward* the third.

a *Rot. Parl.*

The Coaſt-dwellers were ſo frighted from their habitation, as in the thirteenth year the king commanded the Earle of *Richmond* b and other Peers to reſide at their border houſes; and was inforced in the two and twentieth to injoyn by Ordinance, that none ſhould remove that dwelt within *ſex leucas à mari*, ſix leagues of the ſea.

b *Rot. Franc. in dorſo.* 22. E. 3. m. 6.

It was no whit altered under his ſucceſſour *Richard* the ſecond; for in his entrance the *French* burnt the Town of *Rye*, and in the third year after *Graveſend*. And in the tenth year of his reigne, to change his intended journey for *France* in per-

perſon, the *French* King prepareth an Army to invade this land. This quarrel led us almoſt into an eternal charge at ſea, and in the Northern limits, they and our neighbours there being tyed of old in ſtrict aſſurance of mutual aid: by whoſe deſperate and perpetual incurſion (for *neſcit Plebs jejuna timere*, an half-ſtarved rable fears nothing,) the fatteſt parts of our borders were left waſt, the men and cattel of *England* (as 16. of *Edw.* 2.) *impetus Scotorum fugientes*, being fled for ſafety to the Forreſts and deſert places. The like I find in the firſt of *Edward* the third: they ever thus interrupting us in our expeditions into *France*; as in 20. *Ed.* 3. in the firſt and ſecond of *Richard* the ſecond, in the fifth of *Henry* the fifth, and in the fourth of *Henry* the eighth, when he undertook his holy voyage againſt *Lewis* the twelfth.

And either being no leſſe ready to nouriſh the leaſt ſpark of rebellion in this State, as that of the *French* King to counterpoize King *Iohn*; or work out *Henry* the third from his *Dutchy* of *Normandy*, as *France* did; or moving underhand by the *Duke* of *Britain*, the Earl of *Hartford* to reach the Crowne of *Richard* the ſecond, and when he had got the garland, ſuborning *Owen Glendowr* (with whom he contracted as *Prince* of *Wales*) to buſie the ſame King at home, that he might divert his intended purpoſe from *France* or *Scotland*.

Nobilitie in diſlike of forreign expeditions have rebelled.

WHen *Henry* the third had devoured in his mind the kingdome of *Sicily*, the Nobility finding the expence of Treaſure, and fearing the expoſing of their own perſons, grew ſo unwilling, that by the bent and courſe of the record it appeareth

[a] appeareth not the leaſt ground of that rebellion which after drew the King and his Son to ſo foul conditions. [a] *Ex Rot. pat. & clauſ. de annis* 40, 41, 42. *Hen.* 3.

A judgment there muſt be between powers and undertakings, that though affections may carry a man to great things, they make him not attempt impoſſible: for where great minds are not accompanied with great judgements, they overthrow themſelves. As in this Prince, who by the *Popes* incitement *ſimplicitatem Regis circumveniens*, circumventing the King in his honeſt meaning, (they are the words of the Authour [b]) intending to rifle the fortunes of others, was in the end inforced to play at dice for his own ſtake. [b] *Cominei cenſura de com. char. cap.* 8.

The *Earls* of *Hartford*, *Bohun* and *Bigot*, made the grounds of their commotions the diſtaſt they took at *Edward* the firſt for exacting their Service in the quarrel of *Gaſcoign*, a forrein Country. And they might ſeem to have ſome colour to refuſe, but in a more mannerly faſhion, either attendance or charge in recovery or defence of Provinces in *France*, ſince ſo many conſents in Parliament, as [c] 20. of *Rich.* 2. 6. and 9. of *Henry* the fourth, the firſt and ſeventh of *Henry* the fifth affirm the Commons not to be bound *pour ſupporter ſes Guerres en la terre de France ou Normandie*, to ſupport his wars either in *France* or *Normandy*; declaring no leſs by publick proteſtation, then they did by undutifull denial. Burthen of perſonall ſervice grievous. [c] *Ex Rot. Parl. de annis* 20. *R.* 2. 6. & 9. *He.* 4. 1. & 7. *H.* 5.

For the burden of *Charge*, it was no leſſe diſtaſtfull then the former of Service, this kingdome being (as it is ſayd [d] of the *Roman* Provinces occaſioned by war) made deſert, and the people deſperate by *Exactions*. In the Conquerours time Burthen of charge grievous, ground of much trouble and oppreſſion.

[d] *Cicero Epiſt. ad Att. lib.* 5.

the

the Bishop of *Durham* was killed by the tumultuous people, opposing an imposition levyed by him. There was [a] *murmuratio et imprecatio Prælatorum in Regem Ioannem*, mutterings and curses from the Prelates against King *Iohn*, for demanding in the eighth of his reigne a relief of them and the Layety for his wars. In the 16th. year *Cives Londinenses Ioannem odio habuerunt pro injustis Exactionibus quibus Regnum fatigaverat*, the *Londoners* detested King *Iohn* for his tiring out the Kingdome with unjust taxations. [b] The sink of his expence in war was so bottomlesse, that (as the story saith) he was constrained *desævire quotidie cum incremento*, to grow every day more unreasonable in his carriage towards the Church and Commonwealth, *eas bonis suis variis modis spoliando*, by despoiling them severall wayes of their goods. [c] *Hinc secutum est Bellum inter Regem et Barones quod cum morte Ioannis solum finem habuit*: This was it which kindled that war betwixt the King and his Barons, which nothing could quench but the death of *Iohn* himself.

[a] *Ex Radulpho Cogeshal. de anno 8. Ioannis.*

[b] *Ex Matth. Westm.*

[c] *Ex Matth. Paris hist. minori.*

In the 26th. of *Henry* the third, *ob exactionum frequentiam est Regi cum Baronibus contentio*, by reason of the continuall exactions there arose a contention betwixt the King and his Barons [d]. At the Parlee of peace with them being demanded a reason of that their action, they answer that since he came to the Crown, being not twelve yeares, *multoties ei auxilium dederunt*, they had many times supplyed him; and expressing the particulars besides in the same place, he had received *tot Escaetas*, so many Escheats, by the vacancy of rich *Bishopricks*, death of

[d] *Ex Matth. Paris hist. ma. pag. 780.*

of ſo many *Barons* and others that held of him, that thoſe alone would have made him rich if they had been well imployed. That the *Itinerant Juſtices* had by amercing the defaults gleaned them ſo near, that *per illa Amerciamenta et alia Auxilia prius data omnes de Regno ita gravarentur & depauperarentur, ut parum aut nihil habeant in Bonis*, by thoſe Amercements & the Subſidies they had formerly given him, all the Kingdom was ſo cruſhed & impoveriſhed, that they had little or nothing left them. And that was the ground of their reſiſtance. [a] *Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis et alii Prælati reſiſtunt Regi*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and other Prelates reſiſt the King, when in his fifteenth yeare he demanded *Scutage*. And although he laid open to the Parliament his great debt *cauſa bellicæ expeditionis in partibus tranſmarinis*, occaſioned by his forreign expeditions, was anſwered by *Ranulph Earle* of *Cheſter*, the mouth of the Layety, That in the former Aides *Pecuniam ſuam effuderunt, quod inde pauperes omnes receſſerunt, unde Regi de jure auxilium non debebant*, they had powred out their mony ſo liberally, as that being all impoveriſhed by it, they were not obliged to aſſiſt him any farther. And thus [b] diſſolved the Parliament.

[a] *Ex Joanne Everſden.*

[b] *Ex hiſt. Matth. Paris pag. 32.*

The Clergy of the Realm in the 24. of *Edward* the firſt denyed the demand of *Contribution* [c] *in expeditionem Regis contra Gallos et ad reprimendos Scotos*, towards the Kings expedition againſt the *French*, and the repreſſing of the *Scots*. And *ob has crebras exactiones magnus fit tumultus inter Regem et Barones*, by reaſon of theſe frequent extorſions, there aroſe a great difference betwixt the King and the Barons.

[c] *Ex Matth. Weſtm. Walt. Gisborn.*

One of the Articles of treaſon objected againſt *Mortimer* [a] in Parliament 4. of *Edward* 3. was the offence he bred in the Commonwealth, by cauſing a Subſidie to be exacted. This humour of the people did ſomewhat ſuit with that of the Inhabitants of *Trevers*, [b] who ſtoned to death *Proclerus* for perſwading *Theodoret* the *Goth* to crave a Subſidy.

a *Rot. Clauſ. anno 5. E. 3.*

b *Caſſiodori Var.*

The Clergie in the 12. of *Edw.* 3. [c] deny ſuch a grant of their Wools as the Laiety had yielded to, for ſupplying the King in his affairs of *France*. The like anſwer they make 44. of the ſame King, when he [d] demanded in *Parliament* a Subſidy of them & the Commons of 100000*l*. And the ſame King grown doubtfull of his people preſt down with Impoſitions, requireth the Archbiſhop, [e] *Quod cum Populus Regni ſui variis Oneribus, Tallagiis & Impoſitionibus prægravetur, ut idem Archiepiſc. Indulgentiarum muneribus, piis Exhortationibus, & aliis modis, eundem Populum placare ſtudeat, & ipſum Regem excuſet*, that ſince the Subjects of his Kingdom were over-charged with many Burthens, Tallages, and other Impoſitions, the ſaid Archbiſhop would by grant of Indulgences, ſeaſonable Exhortations, & otherwaies endeavour to pacify the people, and excuſe the King.

c *Rot. Alm. m. 22.*

d *Tho. Walſingham. Rot. Parl. anno 44. E. 3.*

e *Rot. Alm. 12. E. 3. m. 22*

By reaſon of the *Cenſus per Capita*, Polmony impoſed by Parliament 3. of *Richard* the ſecond to defray the warres in *France*, there were [f] *diræ imprecationes in Regem, & magna poſt perturbationes in Regno ex Plebis inſurrectione*, heavy and bitter imprecations againſt the King, which were followed with great troubles in the nation by the inſurrection of the Commons. And as well in the reign of this King,

f *Ex Rot. Par. de an. 2. 3. 5. 7. 8. & 9. R. 2. & Clauſ. anno 8. E. 2.*

King, as ſome other of his Predeceſſours and Succeſſours, the Parliament was ſo tender in grant of Subſidy & other Taxes, that they added into their Act, [a] *quod non trahatur in conſequentiã*, that it ſhould be no example for the future, appointing peculiar Treaſurers of their own to give account upon Oath the next Parliament: and ſuch *Grants*, which they profeſſed to proceed [b] *ex libera & ſpontanea voluntate Dominorum & Comitatuum*, from the free & voluntary grant of the Lords and reſpective Counties, to be void if Conditions on the Kings part were not performed. And this unfortunate King had caſt upon him as an argument of his unworthineſs to govern, the exacting of ſo great Subſidies, and extorting ſo much money from the Shires that ſubmitted their Fortunes unto his mercy.

[a] *Ex chron. S. Albani.*

[b] *Rot. Parl. anno* 1. *H.* 4.

And when *Henry* the 6. in *anno* 20. would have had a Relief from his Subjects [c] *de aliqua ſumma notabili*, of ſome conſiderable ſumme; he had in anſwer, *Propter inopiam*, &c. *populi illud non poſſe obtineri*, that in regard of the poverty, *&c.* of the people it could not be granted. The like 24. of the ſame King. Great men have been diſpoſed ſometimes to humour the waſte of Treaſure in their Princes, either to ſubject Power by Need to their devotion and awe, (for Princes dare moſt offend them whom they have leaſt cauſe to uſe;) or to force Neceſſity to extend *Prærogative* ſo far, untill by putting all into Combuſtion, ſome may attain unto the end of their Ambition, others the redreſſe of ſuppoſed Injuries. [d] Thus did the Faction of *Hen.* the *fourth* in the one, and the Nobility under *Hen.* the *third* in the other; who hereby quitted the State oppreſſed (as they thought)

[c] *In Rundel Inquiſitionum, anno* 20. *& anno* 24. *Hen.* 6.

[d] *Ex lib. Abbat. de Ramſey.*

with the Kings Half-brothers, the *Poictovins* and other Strangers.

Subjects feare to have the enemies of their Soveraigns too much weakned, leaſt themſelves become Tyrants. And it is in the fartheſt reſpect in the [a] *Baronage* under *John*, *Henry* his ſon, and [b] *Edward* the ſecond, to feare aſmuch the abſolute Greatneſs of their Soveraign, as they did the *Diminution* of their own eſtates. And therefore when they found their King to grow too faſt upon any neighbour Adverſary, then would they lend their beſt aid to diminiſh his power or fortune; leaſt by inlarging himſelf upon the other that poized his greatneſs, he might forget and become a Tyrant; as one ſaith of *Henry* the firſt, [c] *Aſſumpſerat cornua audacia tam contra Eccleſiam quam Regni univerſalitatem, Roberto fratre & aliis inimicis edomitis*, having once overcome his brother *Robert* and other enemies, with audacious and preſumptuous horns he goared as well the Church, as the reſt of the Kingdome, breaking his Seal, his Charter, and his Oath.

[a] *Mat. Paris Hiſt. min.*
[b] *Ex Adam Merimouth in vita Ed. 2.*
[c] *Mat. Paris Hiſt. min.*

The memory of this cauſed the Nobility [d] to call in the *French* Kings Son, when *John* their Soveraign began to know his own authority (as they thought) too much. And the *French* Subjects aided on the other ſide *Henry* the third againſt their Mr. when he was almoſt cooped up in his *Britain* journey. This (as the Stories report) being a practice uſuall in thoſe dayes.

[d] *Mat. Paris Hiſt. majori.*

Military Education cauſe of trouble in the ſtate.

THe laſt miſchief is the diſpoſition that Military education leaveth in the mindes of many; For it is not born with them that they

ſo

ſo much diſtaſte peace, but proceeds from that cuſtome that hath made in them another nature.

It is rarely found that ever Civil troubles of this State were dangerouſly undertaken, but where the plot and purſuit was made by a ſpirit ſo infuſed.

Heads of dangerous Rebellions have been onely ſuch as by Command in Warre have forgot to obey in Peace.

King *Iohn* had been after a *ſine Regno* without a Kingdome, as he was at firſt *ſans terre* without land, if his rebenediction had not wrought more upon the diſloyall deſigns of *Fitzwalter* and *Marſhall*, (whom his own elective love had made great in opinion by the *Norman* Services) then either his rebated Sword or blaſted Sceptre could.

a *Mat. Paris anno* 5. Joan.

b If *Simon Montfort* had not been too much improved in *Experience* and his own Opinion by the many ſervices he underwent in the government of *Gaſcoign*, he had never ſo much dared againſt Duty, as to come over at the firſt call to make head againſt his Maſter, and purſue him with that fury of Ambition, untill he had forced him to redeem the liberty of his perſon by the blaſting of ſo many flowers of his *Imperiall Crown*: and to ſet himſelf ſo far below the ſeat of Majeſty, as to capitulate with them upon even conditions, which not performed (I uſe his own words) c *Liceat omnibus de Regno noſtro contra nos inſurgere*, it ſhall be lawfull for all perſons in our Kingdome to riſe up againſt us, and to do *omnia quæ gravamen noſtrum reſpiciant*, *ac ſi Nobis in nullo tenerentur*, ſo to act all things in reference to the grievances from us upon them, as if they were by no ty obliged to us.

b *Willielm. de Riſhanger in Hiſtoria*

c *Ex Charta conceſs. Baronibus anno* 49. *Hen.* 3.

If *Richard Duke* of *York* had never learned to be ſo great a Souldier at the coſt of his Maſter

Henry the sixth in another State, he had never disquieted the calm of his Times, or given just occasion to his Opposite *Somerset* to say, That *if he had never learned to play the King by his Regencie in France, he had never forgot to obey as a Subject when he returned into England.*

Verba Ducis Somerset. contra Ducem Eborac. coram Rege.

Our own times can afford some, whose spirit improved by *Military imployment*, and made wanton with popular applause, might have given instance of these dangers, if good successe had been a relative to bad intentions. And every age breeds some exorbitant spirits, who turn the edge of their own sufficiency upon whatsoever they can devour in their ambitious apprehensions, seeking rather a great then a good Fame; and holding it the chiefest Honour to be thought the Wonder of their times: which if they attain to, it is but the condition of Monsters, that are generally much admired, but more abhorred.

But warre some may say mouldeth not all men thus: for vertuous men will use their weapons for ornament amongst their Friends, against Enemies for defence. And to those men their own goodness is not safe, *nam Regibus boni quam mali suspectiores sunt*, for Kings suspect good men sooner then bad. Kings must have their Ministers *pares negotiis* fit for their businesse, and not *supra* above it, or too able for it. For another mans too-much sufficiency (as they take it) is a diminution of their respectiveness, and therefore dangerous.

Many disorders in the State by return of the common Souldier,

THe meaner sort having forgot the toile of their first life by inuring themselves to the liberty of Warre, which leaveth for the most part the

the lives of men to their own looſeneſs, and the means of getting to their own juſtice, can never again endure either order or labour; and ſo return but to corrupt the Common-wealth with their lawleſſe manners. For living more riotouſly then the rapine of forrein victory could warrant, (as for the moſt they doe) in contempt of their own private Want and Fortune, they deſire a change of the publick Quiet. In Tumults and Uproars they take leaſt care for their livings, howere the world goes they can be no looſers: for like *Silla's* Army, making no difference between ſacred and profane Robberies, (for the victors Sword ſeldome teacheth either mean or modeſty) they will be ready upon every advantage to pillage their Country-men at home. For who can expect men diſſolutely diſciplined can ever uſe their armes with moderation?

Againſt the fury of ſuch ſeditious Outrages many Parliaments, as[a] in the 22. of *Hen.* the 6. have been ſollicited for redreſſe. And that example in[b] *Champaign* after the Peace at *Calis* 1360. where this licentious Rout at the cloſe of thoſe warres ſlue the *Duke* of *Bourbon*, and beſieged the *Pope* at *Avignon*, may ſuffice to expreſſe this miſchief.

[a] *Parl. anno 22. Hen. 6.*

[b] *Froiſard.*

It hath no leſſe weakened the bond of mutual Trade; ſince our Marchants, whom the neceſſity of late times left to recover by force the loſſes they pretended, do now teach, as a *Maxime* of their Myſterie and our State, That the directeſt way either to wealth or ſecurity is by *Rapine* and Spoile: and to cloake their own ends pretend the common good; as if the State ſtood by their affections, when in truth they

themselves cannot fish but in *aqua turbida* in troubled waters; & therefore would have *Incendium Patriæ* a bonefire of their Country, if it be but to keep warm & awake their own humours.

Exhausting of the peopl. no Necessity but Danger.

THe last motive from Necessity is, the ease Warre bringeth to a surcharged State. Intending it seemeth *Warre* but as the Sinck, and Souldiers but as the Corruptions of Commonweals; whereas besides the inevitable use of the one, and the noble condition of the other, (an Errour in the argument) Nature doth never oppresse further by increase, then she again dischargeth. The brest of the Mother she enableth to nourish up as many as the Womb shall *uno partu* at one birth ever bring forth; proportioning to the number of the children the condition of their Strength and Appetites. It is then accession of our own that may surcharge; for Parents by such indulgent admission may soon famish whom in Motherly affection they intend to cherish.

But admitting the former ground, whether by this way of waste we be ever able and at pleasure to gage the Issue (when such elective power is left to him onely *qui suis stat viribus, non alieno pendet arbitrio*, who stands by his own strength, and not at the pleasure of another) is considerable; since to begin *cuivis licet, deponere cum victores volunt*, is easy for any man, but the laying down will be at the conquerous pleasure. For the wasting of our people in ambitious Enterprizes (as that for an *Empire* by *Constantine* in *France*) left this land as a prey to the barbarous Frontiers, [a] *omni milite & florida Iuventuti alacritate spoliata*, being left na-

[a] *Beda Hist. Eccl. lib. 1.*

naked of Souldiery, and robbed of the choiceſt flower of youth. And when we were tied to make good our undertaking in *France*, the waſte of our people was ſo great, that to ſupply extremity we took *purgamenta urbium*, the dreggs of townes, (as *Curtius* ſaith of *Alexander*;) [a] Need hiring the *Bankrupts* by protection, as in 22. of *Edward* the firſt; and enforcing, againſt the rule of juſtice, the Judges to put *Placita eorum in reſpectu qui in obſequium Regis profecturi ſunt*, Pleas in the behalf of ſuch as were to go in the Kings ſervice. And as *Tacitus* of a declined Majeſty ſaith, *emunt militem, non legunt*, they buy their Souldiers rather then make choice of them; we made purchaſe of generall Pardons of all that were *Utlegati, Banniti, aut de Feloniis indictati, ſi cum Rege tranſitare voluerint*, out-lawed, excommunicated, or indicted of Fellony, in caſe they would go over with the King. As in the ſame year of the former King and in the year after were diſcharged out of all Priſons in the Realm to the number of 97 notorious Malefactours. [b] And in the 18. of *Edward* the ſecond, and 8. of *Edw.* the third, and 12. of *Edw.* fourth we did the like. An army better apted by Neceſſity then Election to live upon the Enemy, *Quibus ob Egeſtatem & Flagitia maxima peccandi neceſſitudo eſt*, whoſe indigency and former ill way of life muſt needs make them ready for any miſchief. In the end of this King laſt remembred, and entrance of his Heir *Richard* the ſecond, the State began to be ſenſible of conſuming Iſſue; which not lying in the Kings power (now as the ſtrength of *France*, ſet on Revenge, ſtood) to ſtay at pleaſure, (for--*arma tenenti Omnia dat qui juſta negat*--) Deny the Soul-

[a] *Ex Rot. Francie an.* 22. *E.* 1.

[b] *Ex Rot. Original. in Arch. The-ſaur.*

Souldiers due, You give him all you have) it was urged to him in Parliament a 7. of his reign, as an *errour* in his Government: whereto he anſwered, that they ought not to lay the cauſe upon him, for that together with the Crown the Warres deſcended unto him. And the *Chauncellor* 4. of *Henry* the 4. declared publickly in the Higher Houſe, that by the miſchance of Warre and want of reaſonable *Peace*, (for I uſe the words of the Roll) occaſioned by diſſenſion and private deſire, the flower of *Chivalry* and Rock of *Nobleſs* within the Realm was in a manner conſumed.

a *Ex Rot. Par. anno 7. R. 2.*

Lucan.

Nobilitas cum Plebe perit, lateque vagatur
Enſis, & à multo revocatũ eſt pectore ferrum.

The Peer and Peaſant falls, and hating reſt
Bloudy the Sword returns from many a breaſt.

And the whole State by warre had been thus ſubverted, had not God as a mean raiſed that King.

Better to diſburden the ſtate by Colony then War.

But ſince the end of mans creation is not for the Slaughter, nor education of Armes to make men Caſtawayes; the courſe moſt anſwerable either to *charity*, or *Example*, (for *Rome* did by *colonies* inlarge and confirm her *Empire*) is to tranſplant that we may beſt ſpare. In *Ireland* we may increaſe the King many Subjects, and in the *Indies God* many ſervants: a world from our Forefathers lockt up by divine Providence, as onely beſt to glorify and purify theſe Times. And as in warre *conquirendus potius miles quam dimittendus*, Souldiers are rather to be liſted then disbanded; ſo *poſt bellum vires refovendæ magis quam ſpargendæ*, after warre forces are rather to be cheriſhed then waſted. And thus much in anſwer of *Neceſſity*.

Anſwer

Anſwer to the Arguments of Profit.

THe profits gained by Forrain Expeditions cannot be any wayes ſo truly eſteemed, as by ſetting down the expence of Mony, Men, and Munition, by which we have made purchaſe of them. I will therefore deliver as they fall in ſequence all the Impoſitions, *Taxes* and *Lones*, whether by generall Grant, or *Prærogative* power levied of the People; ſumming after up, as I go along the times of our Princes, the number of Men, Ships, and vaſt *proviſions* of Victualls raiſed to ſupply the neceſſity & expence of War.

Profit of war. Expence of money, Munition and men.

VV*Illiam* the *Conquerour* in the entrance of his government took of every Hide-land 12*d.* a due of the Subjects to the Soveraign both before and ſince the *Conqueſt*, to defray ſuch charge as either the defence of the Land from ſpoile, or the Sea from *Piracy*, ſhould expoſe the Prince to. It is called *Dane-geld*, *Gelda Regis*, or *Hidage*, and was ſeſſed by the Hide or Plough-land, like to that *Jugatio per jugera* taxation by the acre in *Rome*, yet by no rate definite with this as with another *Exaction*, taken, as the Monk of S. *Albans* a ſaith, *ſive per fas ſive per nefas*, by fair means or by foule. He paſſed over into *France*, into the liſt of charge he ranked the Biſhops and Abbots, ſeſſing upon them and at their charge a proportion of Souldiers for his ſervice, exiling many worthy men that oppoſed this thraldome.

A ſummary of all the exactions upon this State from the Conqueſt to the end of the late Queen.

a *Ex Matth. Paris pag.* 8. & 15.

William Rufus anno 7. ſet upon the heads of ſo many as he muſtered up for the *French* wars 10. ſhil. a man, and ſo diſcharged them. In *an.* 9. he to the ſame end ſpoiled the Churches of their Ornaments and *Holy veſſels*, and levied

William Rufus.

4. *Hi-*

4 *Hidages* of every Plough-land, [a] *Tributis Angliam non modo abradens, sed excorians*, not only shaving, but even flaying *England* with his impositions: so that wearied with warre and expence, *ne respirare potuit Anglia sub ipso suffocata*, *England* was quite stifled by him, and could not so much as breath. --- [b] *Quid jam non Regibus ausum? Aut quid jam Regno restat Scelus?* --What durst not Kings then do? What mischief could the Nation suffer more? in this Kings time.

[c] *Henry the first* anno 5. *magnam à Regno exegit Pecuniam*, exacted a great summe of his Kingdome, with which he passed into *France*: and by this means [d] *gravabatur terra Angliæ oppressionibus multis*, *England* was born down with many oppressions. [e] He took in the 10. year 6. shillings *Danegeld*. [f] And in the 17. *Quod inter eum & Regem Francorũ magnũ fuit dissidium, Anglia fuit variis depressa Exactionibus, & Bonis sine peccato spoliata*, by means of the great difference betwixt him and the King of *France*, *England* was oppressed with divers exactions, & men spoild of their goods for no offence at all.

Of King *Stephen* there need no more then the words of the *Monk* of *Gisborn*, [g] *Post annum sextum Pax nulla, omnes partes terrebat violenta Prædatio*, after the 6. year of his reign there was no quiet, but all parts of the land became a prey and spoil to violent men.

Henry the second, alluding not unlike to the *Feoda* given the *Eremitæ* in the decline of the *Empire*, as *Salaries* by which they stood bound to defend the Frontiers against the Incursions of the *Barbarous Nations*, continued the Policy of his *Progenitours*, who allotted the land into such

a *Ex antiq. legibus Angliæ.*

b *Silius Italicus.*

c *Ex Hist. Gualt. Gisborn.*

d *Ex Hist. Mat. Paris.*

e *Ex Hist. Mat. Westm.*

f *Ex Hist. Hen. Hunting.*

Stephen.

g *Ex Hist. mon. Gisborn.*

Henry 2.

ſuch and ſo many equall portions, as might ſeem competent for ſupportation of a Knight or man at Armes; from whom (as occaſion required) they received either ſervice or contribution. This Tenure, now eſteemed a Thraldome, began upon a voluntary and deſired ſubmiſſion; for who from his gift would not of the Prince accept land upon the like conditions, ſo it toucheth not the Soveraign as a wrong to the Subject, but as in right his own? And therefore reſpecting their firſt immediate dependency upon the Crown, which is a great part of the Kings Honour, their duties and Eſcheats a great benefit, and their attendance by Tenure in warre at their own charge to the number of 60216 at the leaſt, (for the Knights Fees in *England* are no leſſe) a great eaſe, ſtrength, and ſecurity to his State; for they are *totidem Hoſtagia*, ſo many Hoſtages, as *Bracton* ſaith; it were a thing perillous now to alter, after ſuch a current of time & cuſtome. This King to underſtand the better his own ſtrength, *publico præcepit edicto quod quilibet Prælatus & Baro, quot Milites de eo tenerent in capite publicis ſuis inſtrumentis ſignificarent*, he cauſed it to be proclaimed that every Prelate and Baron ſhould notify by publick deed how many Knightſhips they held of him *in capite*. By this rule of *Scutage*, conſtant in the number, he levied alwayes his Subſidies and relief, though divers in the rate. Of the firſt, which was neare the beginning of his Reign, there is no record. The ſecond *Scutage*, which was *anno* 5. amounted to 124 *millialibrarum argenti*, thouſand pounds of ſilver; which reduced to the ſtandard of our mony 5 ſhil. the ounce, whereas that was not five groats, will amount

[a] *Ex Gervaſ. Dorobernen. anno* 1159.

amount to near 400000*l*. *An.* 7. [a] *Scutagium fuit assessum ad duas Marcas pro Exercitu Tholosæ*, a Scutage was assessed 2 Marks for the army at *Tholouse*; wch if summed up by the received number of Knights Fees, being 60216 in the hands of the Layety onely, of our moneys cannot be lesse then 250000 *l*. The like in the next year. In *an.* 11. [b] there was an Aid *pro servientibus inveniendis in exercitu*, to find men to serve in the wars, of 2^d^. *de unaquaque libra* in every pound. And 4. *sequentibus annis de singulis libris singulis denariis*, in the four following yeares a penny in the pound was taken of all men, the estates of mens Fortunes being delivered upon their Oaths. In the 14. yeare a *Scutage* was assessed [c] *ad Marcam unam de singulis Feodis*, one Mark on every Fee. And anno 18. [d] *Scutagium pro quolibet Feodo*, a Scutage for every Fee. A Tenth of all moveables was granted in the 35. of his Reign. In which year dying, 900 [e] *millia librarum in auro & argento, præter utensilia & jocalia, reliquit*, he left in mony 900000 pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.

[a] *Ex lib. Rub. in Scrrio.*

[b] *Ex Gervas. Dorobernens.*

[c] *Rub. lib. in Scrrio.*

[d] *Ex hist. Rossens.*

[e] *Ex hist. Mat Paris.*

Richard 1.

[f] *Richard* the first in the beginning besides *Scutagium Walliæ assessum*, a Scutage assessed upon *Wales* at 10. shil. levied as in the succour of the Holy Land a Subsidie out of all the Moveables in the Realm to his own use; [g] *Et eleemosynæ titulo vitium Rapacitatis inclusit*, cloaking his ravenous extortion under the fair name of a pious almes. A contribution there was in the 6. yeare of 150 [h] *millia marcarum argenti ad pondus Columniensium*, 150000 marks of silver to pay his ransome: as also a *Scutage* assessed at 20 shil. In the 17. he imposed for his warrs a contribution called *Tenemen-*

[f] *Rub. liber in Scrrio.*

[g] *Ex hist. min. Math. Paris. Rub. libr.*

[h] *Ex hist. Walt. Coventr.*

[i] *Ex Rog. Howed. & Walt. Covent.*

mentale. Extremity (for by his waſte and impriſonment he had almoſt exhauſted the wealth of the State) invented *nova & varia prædandi vocabula*, new and ſundry words to expreſſe his exactions, as *Tacitus* [a] ſaith, of *Centeſima & Quinquageſima*, an hundredth part and a fiftieth part, (names that ſince have found reception and uſe with us.) This was 2. ſhillings of every Plough-land from the Husbandman, and from the Gentry and Nobility the third part of their Military ſervice. He inforced the *Ciſtertian Monks* [b] to redeem the ſame yeare their woolls *fine Pecuniaria*, at a Fine. For his Army into *Normandy* [c] he took a *Scutage* aſſeſſed at 20 ſhillings. [d] And 4. years after of every Plough-land 5. ſhillings, and of every *Borough* and [e] City *duos palfridos & totidem ſummarios*, 2. horſes and as many ſummaryes; and of every *Abbot* half aſmuch. Then looſing of purpoſe his great Seale, proclaimed that [f] *Omnes Chartæ & Confirmationes novi Sigilli impreſſione roborarentur*, all Charters and Aſſurances ſhould be confirmed by the new Seal. Whereby anew he drew from all men a compoſition for their Liberties. This faſhion was afterwards taken up by ſome of his Succeſſours; as [g] of *Henry* the 3. when all again were enjoyned *qui ſuis volebant libertatibus gaudere*, as many as would enjoy their Liberties, *ut innovarent Chartas ſuas de novo Regis Sigillo*, to renew their Charters from the Kings new Seal. Some reaſon [h] *Richard* had in the end to become a gatherer, that had not long before by accompt of *Chancellour Hubert* then *Archbiſhop*, ſpent *infra biennium undecies centena millia Marcarum argenti de Regno An-*

[a] *Tacit. annal.* 4.

[b] *Ex Joan. Everſden.*

[c] *Rub. lib. in Scrrio.*

[d] *Ex walt. Coventr.*

[e] *Ex Math. Paris.*

[f] *Ex chartæ origin.*

[g] *Ex hiſt. Mat. Paris pa.* 209.

[h] *Ex hiſt. Rog. Hoveden.*

Angliæ, within less then 2 yeares eleven hundred thousand Marks of silver current English money.

His brother *Iohn* succeeding [a] took in the first of his Reign a *Scutage* assessed at two Marks. [b] For the two next years 3 shil. of every Plough: [c] and the year following, besides a *Scutage* as before, the 40. part of the Revenues of the Clergie and Layety. [d] In the 4. year hee took the like *Scutage*, and the [e] seventh part of the moveable goods of the *Baronage* & *Clergie*. A *Scutage* assessed at 2 Marks [f] in *an.* 5. [g] The like in the 6. and 7. years 20 shil. *Scutage*; and the 13 part of Moveables aswell of the Church as Layety in the year following. In [h] *an.* 9. he exacted by redemption of the Concubines of the Clergie a great summe. In the 11. *extorsit tributum grave, scil.* 140. *millia librarum à viris Ecclesiasticis*, he extorted a great tribute, *viz.* 140000 pounds of the Church-men. And to furnish his Army, [k] *Clericorum Horrea invadit*, he came upon the Barns of the Clergy. In [l] the 12. a *Scutage* assessed at two marks, besides an exaction [m] of 22000 *l.* from the *Cistertians*. He took [n] in the 13. year a *Scutage* assessed at 20 sh. *pro exercitu Walliæ*, for his *Welsh* Army; exacting [o] from the Ministers of the Church in the year following 40000 marks. [p] And in the 16. year *Scutagium assessum fuit pro exercitu Pictaviæ ad 3 Marcas*, a Scutage was assessed at 3 Marks for the Army in *Poictou*. Thus in the space of 17 years the State was delivered but thrice from *Impositions*.

In the time of *Henry* the third, [q] upon the Clergie, Nobility and Gentry there was assessed 15 *Scutages*; one at 10 shillings, two at 20, eight at two Marks, and 4. at 40 shillings the

King John.
a *Rad. Cogshall & Rub. lib. in Sccrio.*
b *Ex Rog. Hoveden.*
c *Ex Math. Paris.*
d *Lib. Rub. in Sccrio.*
e *Ex Math. Paris.*
f *Ex Lib. Rub. Sccrii.*
g *Ex Rad. Cogshall.*
h *Ex Math. Paris.*
i *Walt. Coventr. & Rad. Cogshall.*
k *Ex Math. Paris.*
l *Ex Rad. Cogshall.*
m *Rub. lib. in Sccrio.*
n *Ex Rad. Cogshall & Rub. lib. in Sccrio.*
o *Math. Paris hist. min.*
p *Rub. lib. in Sccrio.*
Henry 3.
q *Ex Rub. lib. in Sccrio & Joan. Eversden.*

the Knights Fee. [a] The land of the inferiour sort twice taxed; first at 2 shillings, after at half a Mark the Plough. [b] And two Tallages upon the land of the Crown. [c] From out of the Lay Subjects moveable goods hath been taken 5 times: as the 40. the 30. 20. and 15. parts, [d] and once the 16. of the Clergie for this King. [e] A Tenth he 9. times imposed upon the *Church*: six times for a yeare onely, and by it self; once accompanied with the First-Fruits; once for 3. yeares; and once for 5. [f] Besides 2. Aides, the one moderate, the other called [g] *gravis exactio*, a heavy exaction, and worthily, if to the 800. Marks imposed upon [h] S. *Edmunds Bury* all the other *Abbeyes* were rated accordingly. [i] And by the accompt of *Willihelmus de Midleton* [k] he received in the time of his government *de exitu Indaismi* 4020000 *l.* And as in all the 56. yeares of his reign (excepting five) either the Church or Common-wealth were charged with contribution-money to relieve the expence of war; so were they grieved with other *Exactures*, either for Cariages, or *Victualls*, or personall attendance. In the 16. yeare the inhabitants of *Winchelsey* were enjoyned [l] *ut providerent decem bonas naves & magnas ad transfertandum in Pictaviam in servitium Regis*, to provide ten good and stout ships for the Kings service in *Poicton*. [m] And at another time 20. *Dunwich* and *Ipswich* 5. a piece, and the Ports proportionable, all at their own charge. In the same yeare [n] and for the same service there was transported 10000 quart. of wheat, 5000 of oates, and many Bacons. The *Church* not for-

[a] *Mat. Paris*, & *ex Rot. Claus.* & *finium an.* 12, 13, 15, & 19. *Hen.* 3. & *ex lib. Chart. Cantuar. Episc.*
[b] *Rot. Pat. anno* 8. *H.* 3.
[c] *Ex Tho. Walsingham*, & *Mat. Paris. Claus. anno* 19. *H.* 3.
[d] *Ex Mat. Westmonast.*
[e] *Ex Statuto anno* 4. *c.* 17. *Dors. claus. anno* 16. *H.* 3 & *Eversden.*
[f] *Ex lib. Cantuar. Episc.*
[g] *Ex Eversden & Paris.*
[h] *Ex Mat. Paris & Eversden & Dors. claus. anno* 16. *H.* 3
[i] *Ex Walt. Gisborn.*
[k] *Rad. Cistrensis, ex Eversden, Paris & lib. Chart. Cant. Archiep. anno* 8. *H.* 6.
[l] *Ex Joan. Eversden, Pat.* 4. *H.* 3. *E.* 1. *m.* 26.
[m] *Rot. claus. an.* 26. *Henr.* 3.
[n] *Ex H. Mat. Par. p.* 517.

born in thoſe charges: For from *Winche-*
[a] *Ex Rot. lib. anno 26. H. 3.* *ſter* [a] 2000 quarters of *Wheat* and *Oates*, and 1000 of Bacons was taken. [b] The other Biſhops and Clergie bearing their parts of victualls in the like *Exactions*, coming---*ut unda ſuperveni unda: acſi eſſet Anglia puteus inexhauſtus*, as wave follows wave, as it *England*
[b] *Ex Hiſt. Mat. Paris.*
[c] *Dorſ. clauſ. anno 14. H. 3. n. 8. & clauſ. 12. Hen. 3. m. 2.* were a pit never to be drawn dry. [c] In the 12. and 14. the King levieth Souldiers for his wars beyond Sea, collecting *pro Exercitu ſuo de ſingulis duabus Hidis cur.* upon every two Hides ſo much for his Army, and to bring *ſecum victualia* victualls with them: and thoſe for whoſe ſervice the King diſpenced, *et quos Rex vult remanere in partibus ſuis*, and ſuch as he pleaſed ſhould continue at home, to contribute victualls to thoſe that went for 40. dayes:
[d] *Clauſ. an. 14 H. 3. n. 7.* commanding the Sheriffs [d] to ſweare all *ad Arma qui poſt eum remanebant in Anglia, in forma qua jurati fuerant tempore Ioannis Patris ſui*, to Armes, who ſtayed behind him in *England*, after the manner they were ſworn in the time of King *Iohn* his father; by which Ordinance of King *Iohn* all able Subjects from Youth to decrepite Age were bound to arme
[e] *Clauſ. an. 16 H. 3. m. 11.* themſelves, and be in continuall readineſs, [e] *à ſero uſque ad mane* from night to morning, (for ſo the Record is) to attend the Kings pleaſure. And therefore *Henry* the third in *anno* 14.
[f] *Clauſ. an. 14. H. 3. m. 9.* [f] *mandavit Vicecomitibus quod venire faciant ad excercitum Regis homines juratos ad ferrum*, commanded the Sheriffs to ſend all thoſe to his Army who had been ſo ſworn, bringing with them *Loricas, Habergiones, &c.* Coats of Maile, Habergeons, &c. And to ſuch as neglected this ſervice he ſent his Writs, reprehending them

them at first, a *jurgatorie e quòd, &c.* tartly for that, &c. and after fining them according to their abilities and Tenures. Taking [b] of *Willihelm. de Umfreville pro quietatione paſſagii*, for the securing of his passage into *Gascoign* 100 Marks; and so in proportion of many others.

[a] *Claus. in Dorso, an. 15. Hen. 3.*

[b] *Rot. finium 26. H. 3. m. 4.*

Edward th e first exacted from the land of his Subjects 4. times *Scutage*, assessed every time at 40. shillings the Knights Fee. And once an Aide called *Auxilium novum*, a new Aide, which he farmed out for ready money. Of the Rents of the Clergie he took a Tenth part twice for one yeare, and once for six: and the 20. part twice from both the *Provinces*, and once for two yeares from *Canterbury* only.

Edward 1.

The possessions of the *Priors Aliens* he seized once into his own hands, putting the *Monks* to a bare Pension of 18. pence a week. Of the goods of the Clergie he took the 30. the 15. and the 5. part once, the Moietie three times, and the Tenth seven times; whereof the *Grant* was first for two yeares, and then for three yeares, and once for six yeares. [c] Of the goods of the Commons the 8. the 9. and the 12. part he took once, twice severally the 10. and 11. the Sessors being sworn to levy and rate truly. Three times he had the 15. part, and once the moiety of a 15. From the Clergie and Laietie together the King had granted of their Moveables a 10. a 15. and a 30. part. Of the Cities and Boroughs, besides a great Loan, once the 7. and 8. and twice the 6. part. From the Merchants a 20. and a 7. portion once of their Commodities; imposing a new Custome of a Noble upon every Sack of Wooll which he let outto Farm. And

[c] *Rot. Pat. anno 25. E. 1. m. 3. ſced.*

under pretence of some breach of Amity with those parts whether his Merchants traded, he [a] seized *anno* 22. [a] all the Woolls into his hands, and made of them instant Sale to the best value, leaving them upon security to a short price and a long day of payment. He took [b] the same yeare, to the distaste of the Pope and murmure of the Clergie, all the money gathered in *subsidium Terræ Sanctæ*, for the succour of the Holy Land, to furnish his Journeyes. Upon the persons of his Subjects he impose one Tallage, [c] sessed either in *communi* in generall, or *per capita* by the Poll. And twice the like upon the *Iews*: whereof the one amounted to 50000 Marks. Neither were his people by continuall payment (for there was but one yeare of intermission all his Reign) freed from attendance in their Persons. For in record there appeareth plentifully his writs to the Sheriffes: as [d] *de peditibus eligendis de tota Anglia*, for the chusing of foot-Souldiers throughout all *England*; and to be found and furnished by their severall Countryes: calling [e] his *Earls*, *Barons* and *Knights* to personall service according to their Tenures.

[a] *Rot. Vascon. anno* 22. *E.* 1. *m.* 8.

[b] *Ex Rot. Vasco. an.* 22. *E.* 1. *m.* 17.

[c] *Ex Rot. Vas. an.* 22. *E.* 1.

[d] *Rot. Pat. anno* 31. *E.* 1.

[e] *Ex Hist. Joan. Eversden.*

Edward 2. His Son the second *Edward* assessed upon the lands of his Subjects twice *Scutage*; once at two Marks, & once at 40. sh. the Knights Fee. From the Revenues of the Clergie rated by the book of Tenths, he at distinct times took 4d. 5d. and 12d. in the Mark; and once the 15. part of the whole. From the goods of the Clergie a Tenth for three yeares. And twice [f] a Loan from the Abbots and Bishops. From the Layetie (besides a Tallage of their Moveables) in Cities and Boroughs once a Tenth, twice a 15. and twice a 20. part

[f] *Claus. an.* 8. *E.* 2. *m.* 9.

20. part of their goods. Beſides a Loan from the Commons, and 10. ſhillings borrowed upon every Sack of Wooll from Merchant Strangers, and a Noble from others. [a] From the Clergy and Layetie together of their goods a Tenth, a 15. and twice an 18. part, beſides a Loane. He augmented his fathers new Cuſtome with an Impoſition of a Noble more upon every Sack of Wool. And *anno* 10. [b] *quia exitus Regni ſui & terrarum*, becauſe the profits of his Realm and dominions elſewhere, together with all the money granted by the Church and Layetie, *ad ſumptus Belli ſufficere noluit*, was not enough to defray the charges of his wars, and that he muſt *infinitam pecuniam effundere*, ſpend a vaſt deal of mony; he ſeſſeth and increaſeth an Impoſition upon all Commodities inward and outward to an extreme Rate; and cauſed the Commons in every Shire to lay down money *in depoſito* to pay his Souldiers; and took from the Nobility and Gentry a large contribution towards his wars; and ſeized [c] *omnes Lanas & Coria Mercatorum, data ſecuritate Poſſeſſoribus de rationabili pretio poſtea ſolvendo*, All the Woolls and Hides of the Merchants, giving ſecurity to the Owners that a reaſonable price ſhould be paid for them afterwards. He charged the Ports and Sea-Townes 12. ſeverall yeares *ad coſtos ſuos & ſumptibus villarum*, at their own coſts, and the charge of the Villages about them, (as the Record ſaith) to ſet to Sea in his ſervice Ships furniſhed *Armis & victualibus*, with Armes and Victualls; ſometimes for one month, as *anno* 11. [d] ſometimes for 4. as [e] 12. and ſometimes for 7. as *anno* [f] 4. the number of Ships more or leſſe as occaſion re-

[a] *Clauſ.* 16. *E.* 2. *Clauſ. anno* 12. *E.* 2.

[b] *Ex memor. Sccii. an.* 20. *E.* 2. *ex parte Rem. Theſaur.*

[c] *Rot. Vaſcon. anno* 22. *E.* 2. *m.* 13. *in ſced.*

[d] *Rot. Scot. anno* 11. *m.* 19

[e] *Rot. Scot. anno* 12. *m.* 8.

[f] *Rot. Pat. anno* 4. *E.* 2.

required. In *an.* 17.[a] *Southampton* was charged with six, and 118. Sea-Towns more with rateable proportions for the Kings service. Sometimes, as *anno* 18.[b] embarguing all the Ships in any Port that were of forty Tunnes or upwards, or of 50. Tunnes and upward, as *an.* 20.[c] *contra hostiles aggressus Gallorum*, against the hostile attempts of the *French*. Causing the town of *Southampton anno* 6.[d] to build a Galley for himself of 120. Oares. Commanding all the Sheriffes for provision of Victuall, as *anno* e 1, 2, 3, 4, 9. to provide *de Exitibus Comitatuum certum pretium*, at the charge of the County a certain Rate, to the proportion sometimes of 30500 *Quarters* of Corn and many Bacons, as *anno* 16.[f] and to send them to the Kings Army. As also[g] *Carretta & Carra cum Equis & Bobus*, Carts and Waggons with Oxen and Horses out of the Countyes severally for the use of war. Sometimes he made the Ports to send provision themselves, as *anno* 7.[h] and not to suffer any Ships with victualls[i] *ibidem discariari*, to be there unladed, but to order them by security for those parts where the Kings Army was lodged.

And not sparing the Church, exacted[k] his three first yeares *Frumenta & alia victualia pro exercitu suo*, Corn and other Victualls for his Army from them.

Besides the former Charges, the Persons of Men, aswell of the Nobility as meaner rank, were at their own Charge often enjoyned to serve by reason of the wars.[l] As in 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. and 16.[m] of this King, when they were called *singulatim* man by man, aswell Widowes as Knights[n] and Noblemen, and such as held

a *Dors. Clauſ. anno* 17. *E.* 2. *m.* 11.
b *Clauſ. anno* 18. *m.* 34.
c *Ex Rot. Vaſcon. m.* 29.
d *Clauſ. an.* 6. *E.* 2.
e *Rot Scot. anno* 1, 2, 3. *m.* 10. *& an.* 4 *m.* 5. *& an.* 9. *& Rot. pat. anno* 10. *m.* 12
f *Rot. Pat. an.* 16. *m.* 3.
g *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 8. *m.* 9.
h *Rot. Scot. Dorſo, anno* 7. *m.* 8.
i *Dorſo clauſ. anno* 16. *m.* 3.
k *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 1, 2, 3. *m.* 8.
l *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 8. *E.* 2. *Dors. clauſ. anno* 9.
m *Clauſ. an.* 16 *E.* 2.
n *Ex Dors. Clauſ.* 7. *E.* 2. *m.* 7.

held 40. *l.* land according to their Tenures, [a] *ſub foriſfactura terrarum & Catallorum Equis & Armis, ſumptibus propriis*, to appear with Horſe and Armes, at their own charge, under penalty of forfeiting their Lands and Chattels; & to provide *de hominibus ad Arma ultra famulos ſuos conſuetos*, men for the ſervice beſides their ordinary Servants: according to *Auguſtus* [b] rule, *Viri Fœminæque ex Cenſu coactæ dare Militem*, both men and women were forced to find their Souldiers. And of this the *clergie* was not exempted [c] *anno* 16. of this King. And out of every town one *ſumptibus propriis*, at their own charges, for 40. dayes, as *anno* 15. 1. or for 60. as *anno* 9. 1. or *pro* 7. *Septimanis* for 7. weeks, as *anno* 4. [d] Sometimes 1000. in one Countrey, as *anno* 3. [e] Sometimes an entire Army of 18300. *an.* 11. and 48800. at the charge of all the Countyes *anno* 15. [g] *London ſumptibus Civitatis* at the Cities charge, found 500. men for 40. dayes *anno* 12. and the like *anno* 18. *contra inſultus Regis Franciæ*, againſt the invaſions of the King of *France*. [i] The King commanded *anno* the 16. that all of 40. ſhil. land & upwards ſhould rateably ſend to his ſervice men; [k] And *annis* 9. 10, 15, and 16. that all *jurati ad arma*, ſworn to Armes, or from 16. to 60. *ſecundum Statutum Wincheſtriæ*, according to the Statute of *Wincheſter*, ſhould attend their Services. [l] And *anno* 13. injoined all from 20. to 60. to be armed and victualled at their own charge. [m] And commanded the Sheriffs *annis* 6. 7. 8. 12. 16. and 18. to ſee all the able men of *England* ſo furniſhed, that *Parati ſint & muniti*

[a] *Claus. an.* 16. *m.* 20.
[b] *Ex Paterculo de Aug.*
[c] *Claus. an.* 16. *m.* 11. & *cla. an.* 15. *m.* 19.
[d] *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 3. *E.* 2. *m.* 8. *Dorſo.*
[e] *Rot. Scotiæ an.* 11. *m.* 16.
[f] *Rot. Pat. an.* 15. *m.* 19.
[g] *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 12. *m.* 13
[h] *Claus. an.* 18 *m.* 13.
[i] *Rot. Pat. an.* 16. *m.* 17.
[k] *Rot. Pat. anno* 9. *m.* 22. *Dorſ. Cla.* 10. *m.* 26. *clauſ. anno* 15. *m.* 13
Rot. Pat. anno 16. *m.* 27
[l] *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 13. *m.* 2.
[m] *Dorſ. clauſ. anno* 6. *m.* 28. *Rot Scotiæ anno* 7. *m.* 2. *clauſ. anno* 8. *m.* 30. *clauſ. an.* 16. *m.* 12. *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 12. *m.* 6. *Rot. Pat. anno* 18. *m.* 28.

ad veniendum ad Regem quando vocati fuerint, they ſhould be provided and in a readineſs to march to the King when he ſhould call them, their weapons to be provided *ad ſumptus Incolarum*, at the charge of their neighbour dwellers; and themſelves enjoyned to muſter and train every ſix weeks. If any neglected his appointed ſervice, there was ſent to the Sheriff [a] a writ *de habendo illos coram Concilio, qui præmoniti non venerunt in expeditione Regis*, to bring them before the Councel, who knowing of it before, refuſed the expedition, as *anno* 15. 1. the parties impriſoned, and their goods ſeized into the Kings hands, as [b] *anno* 9. *et* 16. or elſe redemption by fine, as the [c] Sheriffes of *Buckingham* and *Bedford* did their men for 600. Marks *anno* 15. The owner of 40. ſhillings land to redeem his firſt default [d] *cum tertia parte Bonorum*, with the 3. part of his Goods; the ſecond, *cum tota reſidua*, with the remaining parts; at the third, *ſint Corpora eorum ad voluntatem Regis*, their Bodies to be at the Kings diſpoſall; and of Knights, *qui non fuerunt in exercitu Regis*, 20. *l.* *de qualibet Hida*, which were not in the Kings Army, 20. *l.* for every Hide, as [e] *anno* 13.

[a] *Rot. clauſ. anno* 15. *E.* 2. *m.* 14. *Rot. finium: anno* 15. *m.* 16

[b] *Rot. clauſ. anno* 9. *Rot. Pat. anno* 16. *m.* 12

[c] *Rot. clauſ. anno* 15. *m.* 19

[d] *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 13. *E.* 2. *m.* 1.

[e] *Clauſ. an.* 13 *m.* 20.

I have the longer inſiſted upon this King, that *tanquam in ſpeculo*, as in a glaſs we may behold the intolerable miſeries of the Nobility and Commons inſeparably accompanying the times of war.

Edward 3.

Edward the third charged [f] the lands of his Subjects twice 40. ſhillings of every Knights Fee; and 5. *l.* 16. ſhillings of every Pariſh in the 48. yeare of his Reign. Out of the Goods of the *Commons* he took once the 9. part, and 15th.

[f] *Pat. an.* 48. *E.* 3. *m.* 10.

of

of Foreſt and Waſt; twice the tenth, thirteen times a fifteenth for one yeare, and twice for three yeares: and once the 20. part of all moveables, and 30000. Sacks of Wooll upon conditions. Of the *Boroughs* and *Cities*, 4. Tenths, and one for three yeares. From the *Lords* the tenth Sheaf, Lambe, and Fliece: who with the Biſhops and Knights grant 20000. Sacks of Wooll for payment of the Kings debts, giving in the *interim* ſecurity themſelves by Bond to the *Earle* of *Brittain*, to whom their Soveraign ſtood ingaged. Of the *Clergy* alone one Tenth for 4. yeares, three for three yeares, and one for one yeare. Beſides a Contribution in the 12. of his Reign, ſeizing in the ſame yeare all the Goods of the *Cluny* and *Ciſtertian Monks*. Of the *Church* and *Laiety* together he received 6. times the 10. of all their Moveables. From the *Marchants* and State a Subſidy of Wool for 3. yeares. Impoſing *anno* 33. 26. ſhil. 8d. upon every Sack tranſported: which doubled the Impoſitions of his Father and Grandfather. Advancing it after for 6. yeares to 40. ſhillings; and in *an.* 38. (being the yeare he reſumed his Stile of *France*,) to 46. ſhillings 4d. the Sack of Wooll. Taking Poundage 6d. of all Commodities inward and outward, and enjoyning the Marchants for every Sampler of Wooll tranſported to return in 40. ſhillings *Bullion* to his Minte. [a] Himſelf becoming Merchant of all the Tinne in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall* *anno* 12. *in auxilium ſupportationis onerum Belli*, to help him bear the burthen of his wars: aſſeſſing upon the heads of his Subjects a fine of 4d. ſeverally *anno* 51. Beſides in [b] *anno* 20. he took a Loane of the Biſhops, Abbots, Juſtices, *et*

[a] *Ex Rot. Alman. an.* 12. *m.* 17.

[b] *Clauſ. an.* 20 *E.* 3. *m.* 22. *in dorſo.*

et aliis potentioribus Regni, de diversis pecuniarum Summis inter Summas de 1000. *l.* & 40. *l.* and other wealthy men of his Realm, in several summes of mony, betwixt the summes of 1000. *l.* and 40. *l.*

a *Clauſ. an.* 1. *E.* 3. *Rot. Sco. anno* 1. *E.* 3. In the first of his Reign a he commandeth all the Sea-towns to attend with Ships his service, *ſumptibus propriis & duplici Eskippamento*, at their own proper charge, and with double Skippage, and to provide as many as they can of 60. Tun and upwards. And the yeare following b layeth the like charge upon 76. Port-Townes for all Ships of 40. Tunne and more. And *anno* 10. c the like at their own charge, beſides a contribution of mony, d for payment whereof the Officers are commanded, *ut eas per diſtrictiones & alias punitiones prout expedire viderint compellent*, to force it by diſtraining, and what other puniſhments they ſhall find expedient. Injoyning ſuch Merchants of *London*, *qui ex tranſmarinis paſſagiis lucra adquirunt*, who had traffick in forreign parts, to furniſh Ships for war at their own Charge.

b *Clauſ. an.* 2. *E.* 3.

c *Clauſ. an.* 10

d *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 10. *m.* 9. *& Rot. Alman. an.* 12. *m.* 12.

e *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 13. *E.* 3. *m.* 15. e And *anno* the thirteenth the *Cinque-Ports* ſet out to ſea 30. Ships, and maintain them during the ſervice, half at their own, half at the Councells charge. Fourſcore Ships being furniſhed & defrayed by the *Out-Ports*, the Admirall directed to embargue all other Ships for the Kings ſervice. f And although the Subject found this an infinite grievance, yet could he (upon humble complaint in *Parliament*) receive no further relief, then that the King would not have it otherwiſe then before. g

f *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 10. *E.* 3.

g *Rot. Alman. anno* 1. *E.* 3. *m.* 2. For Proviſion of his Armes, the King took at one time, and at a rate of loſſe to the Subject,

19000.

19000. quarters of Grain, 2200. Oxen ſalted, & 3000. Bacons; beſides of other Proviſions an infinite quantity.[a] The like very frequent all his Reign, *pro guerris neceſſariis, ubi id magis commode fieri poterat*, for the neceſſities of his wars, where it could be done with more conveniency.

[a] *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 10. *m.* 17

The Perſons of all his meaner Subjects from 16. to 60. he cauſeth [b] to be armed in readineſs *ad præmonitionem* 5. *dierum*, at 5. dayes warning; the *Decrepite* to contribute *ad expenſa præmiſſorum*, towards the expenſes of the reſt: and to arreſt the Bodies of the diſobedient, that *de ipſis tanquam de inimicis ſumat vindictam*, they might be dealt withall as enemies. [c] The Gentry and Nobility ſupplying the King in his wars, and at their own Charge, [d] ſometimes with 7. or 800. men at Armes, and 2. or 3000 *Archers*, as *anno* 13. with other proportions at divers yeares following. And the Biſhops ordered [e] to furniſh *Armis & Equis competentibus*, ſerviceable Armes and Horſes, ſo many as occaſion required: and their Perſons (together with the Laye Nobility) commanded [f] *quod ſint parati Equis & Armis & toto ſervitio debito*, with Horſe and Armes and all neceſſary accoutrements to attend the King in his wars.

[b] *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 1. *m.* 2.

[c] *Rot. Scotiæ anno* 1.

[d] *Parla. an.* 13 *E.* 3. *Parla. anno* 14. *E.* 3.

[e] *Rot. Franc. anno* 46.

[f] *Clauſ. an.* 1. *E.* 3. *m.* 1.

Theſe wars (which as *Edward* the third profeſſeth himſelf in Parliament, [g] could not without his great danger and loſſe of *Honour* be maintained, unleſſe by perpetuall Aide from the Subjects) were ſo grievous to them, that in *anno* 22. they complain in Parliament of the miſeries they underwent thereby: As of their Aides advanced to 40. ſhillings Fine, that by law ſhould be but 20. ſhil. Their ſetting forth of men, and the Kings taking of their Victualls without

[g] *Parl. an.* 22. *E.* 3. *n.* 9.

without payment; The Sea left to the charge of their keeping, and from their woolls by way of Subsidy 60000. *l.* yearly exacted without Law; besides the lending of 2000. Sacks, and themselves restrained from transporting any. But such was the Necessity of these times, that neither they had redresse of their Complaint, nor the State one yeare discharged of Contribution all his Reign.

Richard 2. a *Parl. an.* 2. & 14. *Rot.* 2. *n.* 8.

Richard succeeding his Grandfather declareth both [a] *anno* 2. and 14. that the great Wars he was left in, and the Territories he inherited beyond Sea could not be maintained, except the Subject of this Realm gave supply of means thereto. He therefore of the Clergie and Laiety took once the tenth of all their lands, and thrice of the goods of the Commons the like entirely, and six times the half, twelve times a fifteenth, and six times the Moiety: And had *anno* 21. granted one Tenth to him, and a 15. and a half of either of them yearly for term of life. From out the Boroughs and Cities thrice a full Tenth, and once a Moiety. Out of all Merchandises he received three years 6d. in the pound, and once twelve pence. And for every Tunne of Wine, and such Commodities, for 2. yeares 6d. doubling it for as many, and trebling it for three yeares after. The Custome of Woolls, *&c.* by *Edward* the first rated at a Noble the Sack, and under his son increased as much more, was to this King advanced to 22. shil. 8d. which singly for 8 yeares he had granted unto him, besides once for 3. yeares, and once for 4. having it after improved to 34. shil. 4d. and again to 43. shil. 4d. the Sack. The summe of one of these Subsidies in *anno* 14. amounted to 160000. *l.* From out of

of the goods of the Clergie he had 8. Tenths and a half; and one out of thoſe and the Laiety together; beſides a Loan *anno* 5. of 60000. *l.* By the poll or heads of all his people from above 15. yeares, he collected twice a Contribution, aſſeſſed proportionall from the *Begger* to the *Duke*: Beſides in ſtrength of *Prærogative* only, of every Ship and Fiſherman 6d. the Tun: the like of *Newcaſtle* Coals, and of every Laſt of Corn inwards or outwards the like Summe.

To furniſh his journey for *Ireland* he took their Horſes, Armour, Cattell. [a] *Hinc factus eſt ſuis Subditis inviſus*, Hereupon he came to be hated by his People, ſaith the Biſhop of *London*. And ſo it ſeemed: For at his depoſing, it was one of the objected Articles againſt him.

[a] *Rot. Pat. anno* 2. *R.* 2. *m.* 3.

He the firſt yeare of his Reign impoſed upon his Subjects, as formerly his Anceſtours had done, a perſonall ſervice *ab anno primo*, That all the Clergy ſhould array *Armis & Equis competentibus*, with ſerviceable Horſes and Armes, from the age of 16. to 60. *et eos in Millenis & Centenis poni faciant*, and cauſe them to be entred into Regiments and Companyes. And two yeares after commanded all according to their Tenures by ſervice to fit themſelves *Equis & Armis*, with Horſe and Armes to attend the wars. But theſe the courſes of elder times were about this time much altered, and the King for the moſt part ever ſupplied in his wars by contract with the Nobility and Gentry, to ſerve him with ſo many men, and ſo long, and at ſuch a rate as he and they by Indenture accorded; of which there are in the *Pell* plenty yet remaining. Thus under grievous burdens did

did the State labour continually all his time; for his Treasury being wastfully emptied, was, as *Tacitus* saith of *Tiberius*, [a] *Scelere replendum*, to be filled some ill way; by which he meant intolerable racking of the people. Hence was it that often in this Kings time [b] the Subjects humbly beg some ease of the insupportable Tallages.

[a] *Tacit. lib. 2.*

[b] *Rot. Parl. annis 3, 4, & 5. R. 2.*

But he little regarding the tears or groans of his heartlesse People, answered them as *an.* 4. That their Petition and his Honour could not consist together. [c] They again plead extreme poverty, in barre of further relief; complaining that good mony was transported, and the State enforced to use base; and that the price of Wooll by warrs (to their utter impoverishing) was fallen, and that the Kings want was onely the ill government of his Revenues; and therefore crave to have his present Officers removed: and very hardly would be drawn any more to taxe themselves, but conditionally, and with this Limitation, That their mony should be received, expended, and accompted for to themselves, and by Treasurers of their own election; and are content to lend in the end; loading this poor Kings dejected Fortune with the reproachfull weight of these their many Burthens.

[c] *Rot. Parl. anno* 1. *H.* 4. *n.* 32.

Henry 4. *Henry* the fourth in 13. yeares out of the land of his people received twice relief; once *auxilia de medietate Feodorum*, an Aide of the Moiety of the Fees, and again a Noble out of every 20. *l.* throughout all the Realm. Out of the Goods of the Commons 4 times a Tenth, besides one for 3. yeares, and the like one and a half for 2. By severall grants and yeares five Fifteens, besides one for 2. and one for 3. yeares. Out of Staple Com-

Commodities of Wooll, Fells, &c. one Subſidy for one yeare, foure for two apiece, and one for 3. yeares. A Poundage at 8d. once, four times 12d. whereof the laſt was for 2. yeares. The like number and yeares of the Tunnage, the firſt onely rated at 2. ſhil. the reſt at 3. ſhil. the Tun. Out of the Moveables of the Clergie thrice a Tenth, and twice a Moiety; as alſo of every ſtipendary Miniſter, Frier, and ſuch manner perſons 6. ſhil. 8d. apiece. Beſides all theſe of all he took *an.* 8. a[a] Contribution *ita gravis*, ſo heavy, that it was granted *ea conditione, ne trahatur in Exemplum, & ut Evidentiæ poſt datum Computum cremarentur*, upon this condition, that it ſhould not be made an Example to following times, and that after the Account the Evidences ſhould be burnt.

[a] *Hiſt. Tho. VValſingham*

Next him ſucceeded his Son the 5. *Henry*; in Henry 5. whoſe 9. yeares Reign I find no charge impoſed upon the Land of the Subjects. Out of the Goods of the Commons he received 6. times the 10. and the 15. entirely, and once two thirds onely of Staple wares; a Subſidy once for 4. yeares, and after for life: three ſhillings Tunnage, and 12d. Poundage for the like terms as the former Subſidies. Thrice he had the Tenth of his Clergie. And in the eighth of his Reign, when the *Chancellour* bewailed to him in Parliament the Feebleneſſe and Poverty of the People by reaſon of wars and ſcarcity of mony, he (who of as many attempts as he undertook, *totidem fecit Monumenta victoriæ*, raiſed himſelf ſo many Monuments of Victory,) yet for redreſſe and eaſe of thoſe miſeries (as *Livy* ſaith of an excellent Souldier) *Pacem voluit etiam quia vincere potuit*, he preferred Peace be-

becauſe he knew he could overcome. And left in the 9. yeare of his Reign a peaceable ſucceſſion and *Heire*, *nimium felix malo ſuo*, too happy to his own undoing, as the event proved. For retaining nothing *ex paterna Majeſtate præter ſpeciem nominis*, of his Father's Greatneſs more then the ſpecious Name of a Great King, by Fear and Facility he laid the way open to his Factious Ambitious kindred, to work themſelves into popular Favour, and himſelf into Contempt: which was ſoon done by leading the eaſy King by Expence into Extremity. For beſides the Reſumptions he took of his own and Fathers Grants, (which was of purpoſe plotted to make a conſumption of Duty and Affection towards him) he out of the old inheritance of his Subjects exacted 6d. in the pound *anno* 14. and doubled twice that valuation, not onely on all lands purchaſed from the entrance of *Edward* the firſt, but of all Freehold and Coppy-hold under 200. *l.* and two in twenty of all above. He further impoſed firſt 6. ſhil. 8d. and then 20. ſhil. upon every Knights Fee. Out of the goods of the Commons he had 6. Tenths, whereof one for 3. yeares, beſides 3. Moieties, and one third; of fifteens 3. halfs, one third, and eight entire, of which there was of two a 3 yeares grant. Beſides theſe former, out of the woolls he had 37107 *l.* raiſed by a Moiety of a 10th. and 15th. and again of all goods 6. ſhil. 8d. in the pound. Of the Merchant of Subſidies rated as in former times, he had then by grant once but for a yeare; trebled for three and a half. This Subſidy advanced to 33. ſhil. 4d. of *Deniſons*, and 53. ſhil. 4d. of *Aliens*. The Sack of Woollwas twice granted for 4. years

Henry 6.

at

at a time, and *an.* 31. for term of the Kings life. Beſides a Subſidy alone of *Aliens* goods, Tonnage and Poundage improved to ſix ſhillings 8d. he took in his 18. yeares. And after the Rates of his Fathers time he had it firſt thrice by his ſeverall grants and yeares, then as often for two yeares, and again by a new grant for 5. yeares, and in the end for term of his life. Of the Clergy he had beſides one half of *Diſmes*, 4. entire Tenths. And by the State in generall *anno* 31. 2000. Archers maintained for half a yeare at the common Charge. By the *Poll* he exacted *anno* 18. of every Merchant Stranger if a houſeholder 16. ſhillings a piece, if none 6d. And *anno* 27. 6. ſhillings 8d. every ſuch ſtranger, and 20d. of their Clerks. *An.* 13. he had granted for term of life ten pounds a year of all Inhabitants mere *Aliens*, and a third leſſe of *Denizons*, and 20 ſhil. of every Stranger Merchant that came into the land. The firſt *Monopolies* I find were groun ed upon the extremities of theſe times; for in *anno* 29. the *Spinellos*, Merchants of *Genua*, had by grant for 8000. *l.* the ſole Trade of many Staple-Commodities. As the Merchants of *Southampton* had all *Allome* for the like ſumme. Yet for all the Contributions, Taxes and Shifts, (whereby the impoveriſhed People were enforced to petition redreſſe; for which a Parliament was *anno* 10. ſummoned onely,) the Kings Coffers were ſo empty, and the yearly Revenues ſo ſhort, as the Lord Treaſurer was conſtrained[a] *an.* 11. to complain in Parliament of the one, and declared there the other to want 35000. *l.* of the needfull expence, as the beſt motive to work a Relief from the Common-wealth: which was

Nota *Firſt monopolies.*

[a] *Rot. Parl. an.* 11. *H.* 6.

a *Rot. Parl. an.* 18. *Hen.*6. *n.* 38.

by the people in part effected. a But by *an.* 18. the debts were swoln again so great, that the Parliament was reinforced not onely to see them, but to support and victuall his houshold. Thus was this unhappy Princes Reign all war and waste: and in the end, as one saith of b *Lepidus*, *à Militibus & à fortuna deserebatur*, being forsaken both of Souldiers and Fortune, he was left a while to a disgraced life, *spoliata quam tueri non poterat dignitate*, and despoiled of that Dignity which he was not able to maintain.

b *Ex Patersulo.*

Edward 4.

Edward the fourth, c besides two resumptions not only of the Grants of such Kings as he accounted *de facto*, and not *de jure* to Reign, but also of those made by d himself, and that Sea of profit that by infinite *Attaintures* flowed daily into his Treasury, took notwithstanding of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall onely a Tenth of their yearly possessions, and of the Commons six Tenths, three quarters; and the like proportion of Fifteens: A *Benevolence* in *an.* 14. which e *Fabian* calleth a new Contribution: And charged them f *anno* 12. with wages of his Archers to a Summe of 51117. *l.* Of the Merchant he had Tonnage and Poundage for term of life. Besides of Strangers, as well *Denizons* as others, a Subsidie the g 22. yeare of his Reign. Leaving his Kingdome in the next to the few dayes of his son *Edward* the fifth. For

c *Rot. Parl. an.* 2, *&* 8. *E.* 4.

d *Placita Coronæ.*

e *Chron. Fabiani.*

f *Rot. Parl. anno* 12. *E.* 4. *n.* 8.

g *Rot. Parl.*

Edward 5.

Ostendunt terris hunc tantum Fata, nec ultra Esse sinunt. —— The Fates only shewed him to the world, and took him away again.

Richard 3.

Richard his Uncle succeeded, *homo ingeniosissime nequam, & facundus malo publico*, a man most ingeniously mischievous, and full of

Art

Art to beguile the people. He to make a juſt ſemblance of his unjuſt entry, beſides his Act of Parliament full of dangerous Untruths, diſſembled the part of an excellent Prince, making the Commons believe by a Statute, to which he gave firſt form, as life, diſcharging them for ever from all exactions called *Benevolences*, that his opinion was, *Ditare majus eſſe Regium quam diteſcere*, that it was more Kinglike to enrich his Subjects then to grow rich himſelf. Whereas he did but lively imitate *Nero*, that took away the law *Manlia de vectigalibus*, only *ut gratioſior eſſet populis*, to ingratiate himſelf the more with the people. And ſo all his ſhort Reign I find recorded but once any Tax upon the people, and that was Tenths granted by the Clergy of both Provinces.

Henry the ſeventh ſucceeding, reſumed in the 3. of his Reign moſt of the grants of Office made by the Uſurper his brother, & aſſeſſed upon the land onely of his Subjects but one Aide in *an.* 19. out of their Goods and Lands a tenth peny, and of their Goods onely 3. times the tenth, five Fifteens, beſides a Tenth and Fifteenth ariſing to 120000. *l.* He took three Subſidies, whereof the laſt was not above 36000. *l.* [a] and one *Benevolence*, the proportion of every Alderman being 300. *l.* and the entire Summe of the City of *London* 9688. *l.* 17. ſhillings 4[d]. Of the *Clergie* he had twice the Tenth, & 25000. *l.* by way of *Subſidie*. [b] And of them and the Commons 2. Loans; the City of *London* rated at 6000. *l.* the other not definite in proportion, but ſo aſſeſſed as Commiſſioners and the Lenders could agree. Henry 7.

[a] *Fabian.*

[b] *Ex litera miſſa Abbatiſs. Barking manu Regis H. 7.*

And aſwell to eaſe the expence of wars, as

issue of the good money going over to *Bullen*, [a] he stamped an allayed Coyn then usually termed *Dandeprats*: A course that necessity after enforced his Son and Successors to practice, and is an apparent *Symptome* of a consumed State. But that whereby he heaped up his masse of Treasure, ([b] for he left in Bullion 4. millions and a half, besides his Plate, Jewells, and rich attire of house) was by sale of Offices, redemption of Penalties, dispencing with Laws, and such like, to a yearly value of 120000. pounds.

[a] *Ex litera Ducis Norfolciæ.*

[b] *Ex lib. Acquit. int. Regem & Dudly R. C.*

Henry 8. His Successour, reaping the fruit of his Fathers labour, gave ease of burthen to the Subjects his first two years; taking within the compasse of his other 34. three Tenths of the Commons, four Fifteens, 6. Subsidies, whereof that *an.* 4. amounted to 16000. *l.* and that *an.* 7. 110000. *l.* *Tonnage* he had and *Poundage* once for a year, and after for term of Life. Of the Clergy 4. Tenths by one grant, and 3. by severall, every of them not lesse then 25084. *l.* Of *Subsidies* he had one of the *Province* of *Canterbury*, another of both; the *Stipendary* Ministers there to be taxed according to the rate of their wages. In *an.* 22. they granted a Moiety of all their Goods and Lands, payable by equal portion in 5. years, every part arising to 95000. *l.* to the yearly Revenues of his Crown, by an inhumane spoil of sacred Monuments, and impious ruine of holy Churches, if Gods blessing could have accompanyed so foul an Act. And as these former Collections he grounded upon Law, so did he many upon *Prærogative*: As *Benevolences* and Loans from the Clergy and Commons. Of the first there were two remarkable, that in *an.* 17.

acted

acted by Commiſſioners, who as themſelves were ſworn to Secrecy, ſo were they to ſwear all thoſe with whom they conferre or contract. The Rates directed by inſtructions, as the thirds of all Goods, Offices, Land above 20. *l.* and the 4th. under. And although the Recuſants (whether from Diſobedience or Inability) are threatned with Convention before the Councell, Impriſonment, and Confiſcation of Goods; yet in the [a] *Deſigne* Originall under the Kings hand, it hath ſo fair a name as an *Amicable* Grant. The other about [b] *an.* 36. exacteth out of all Goods, Offices, land from 40. ſhillings to 20. *l.* 8d. in the pound, and of all above, 12d. And amongſt the many Loans, there is none more notorious then that of *an.* 14. [c] which was 10. *l.* in the hundred of all Goods, Jewels, Utenſils, and land from 20. *l.* to 300. *l.* and twenty marks of all above, as far as the Subjects Fortune, revealed by the extremity of his own Oath, would extend. And to ſtop as well intentions if any had been, as expectations of repayment of ſuch Loans, [d] the Parliament in *an.* 21. acquitteth the King of every Privy Seal or *Letter Miſſive.*

[a] *Ex originali ſignat. manu Regis.*

[b] *Ex originali Inſtructione.*

[c] *Ex inſtruct. originali anno* 14. *H.* 8.

[d] *Rot. Parl. an.* 21. *H.* 8.

Edward the ſixth his Son, beſides Tonnage and Poundage for life, *an.* 1. received of his Lay-Subjects ſix Fifteens, and of both three Subſidies, leaving one of the Temporalty ungathered: which his Siſter *Mary* remitted in *an.* 1. of her reign; yet after (incited by the *French* King ſuccouring her Rebells, and ſuffering her money adulterated in his Dominions, purpoſely to be hither tranſported, as alſo to ſide the quarrell of *Philip* her husband againſt him) being drawn into wars, ſhe was inforced to preſſe up-

Edward 6.

Q. Mary.

on her people, and (besides the Loan in *an.* 1. for term of life granted unto her by *Parliament*) took five Fifteens of the Commons, and of them and the Clergie three years Subsidies.

Q. Elizabeth

Her Sister of happy memory succeeding, besides divers Loans of her people and others in forraign parts, (as *anno* 5. when *William Herle* was dispatched into *Germany* to take up at Interest for 6. years great Summes of money, the like *an.* 18. from the Merchants of *Colen* and *Hamburgh* upon Bond of the City of *London*, and again of *Spinello* and *Pallavicini* upon the former security, strengthened with the assurance also of many of her chiefest Councellors,) had by grant of her Subjects 38. Fifteens, 20. Subsidies of the Commons, and 18. of the Clergy. All which together rose to a summe of two Millions and 800000. *l.*

Princes extremities beyond the ease of their people by reason of wars.

Credit of Ks. so much impaired, that they could not borrow but upon surety and extreme interest.

HAving thus far (with as light a hand as I could) drawn down the many and mighty burdens of the Common-wealth, if but with a touch of the Princes Extremities beyond the ease of these former helps I heighten up this draught, it will with much more life and lustre expresse the Figure of wars Misery. [a] The Credit of Kings it hath brought to so low an ebbe, that when by force of necessity they borrowed money, they could not take it up but by collaterall security, and extreme Interest. As *Edward* the 2. in the Patent to [b] *William de la Poole* confesseth, that *propter defectum pecuniæ negotia sua fuerunt periculosissime retardata*, for want of money his affaires were dangerously delayed, (they are the words of the record) and the honour of him and his Royall Army

magnæ

[a] *Math. Paris.*
[b] *Rot. Pat. anno* 13. *E.* 3. *m.* 13.

magnæ fuit depreſſioni patenter expoſitus, & progreſſus non ſine dedecore ſuo perpetuo impeditus, he was brought to a manifeſt low condition, and his proceedings to his great diſhonour had been conſtantly hindered; if *De la Poole* had not as well ſupplied him with the credit of his Security, as with the beſt ability of his own Purſe. For which ſervice he honoured him and his poſterity with the degree of *Baronets*, and 500 *l.* land of inheritance. Nota.

The intereſt of *Henry* 3. *ad plus quam centum quotidie libras adſcenderat, ita ut immineret tam Clero quam Populo Angliæ Deſolatio & Ruina*, came to more then a hundred pound a day, ſo that preſent ruine & deſolation hung over the heads as well of the Clergy as the People.

Q. *Mary* [a] borrowed in *Flanders* at 14. in the hundred, beſides *Brocage* upon collaterall ſecurity.

The late *Queene* was inforced [b] to the like thrice with Strangers upon the City of *Londons* aſſurance, as before, and with her [c] own Subjects after upon Mortgage of Land. A courſe more moderate then either that of the firſt *William*, that took out of *Churches* ſuch money as ſeverall men had committed thither for more ſecurity: [d] or that of *Charles* the fifth, that to repaire the waſte of his *Italian* wars, went in perſon to *Barcilona*, to ſeize into his hands a Maſſe of money called *Depoſitum Tabulæ*, which as well Strangers as Subjects had there laid up in Sanctuary. But theſe are not the conditions of Princes of our times onely: for in the lives of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Veſpaſian*, *Suetonius* of them ſeverally writeth, *Exhauſtus*

[a] *Ex Inſtruct. Thomæ Greſham, anno* 1557.

[b] *Ex Inſtruct. Willielm. Herle* 16. *Auguſt. an.* 5. *Eliz. Similiter*

[c] *Thomæ Greſham.* 1563. *& 76.*

[d] *Ex literæ Edw. Lee oratoris Regis H.*8 *in Hiſp. anno* 28.

& egenus calumniis rapiniſque intendit animum, being drawn dry and grown poor, they bent their minds to Calumnies and Rapines. For *Perniciosa res eſt in Imperante tenuitas*, Want in a Prince is a dangerous thing; and as *Theodoricus* ſaid, *Periculoſiſſimum animal eſt Rex pauper*, a Poor King is the moſt dangerous creature living.

Kings enforced to abate their hoſpitalitie.

It hath abated the Regalties of Houſes; *an.* 16. of *Richard* the ſecond, and 18.[a] of *Henry* 6. when as well from want of means, as the Subjects Petitions in Parliament, (for *Expeditiſſima eſt ratio augendi Cenſus detrahere Sumptibus*, the readieſt way to raiſe the Revenue is to take down Expenſes,) they have much leſſened their Hoſpitality; their Tables being either defrayed by their Subjects, as of *Henry* the 6. or as *Henry* the 3. when by neceſſity[b] *ita conſueta Regalis Menſæ hoſpitalitas abbreviata fuit, ut* (*poſ poſita ſolita verecundia*) *cum Abbatibus, Clericis, & viris ſatis humilibus hoſpitia quæſivit & prandia*; the wonted hoſpitality of the Kings Table was ſunk ſo low, that (without farther ſhame) he many times lodged and dieted with Abbots, Clerks, and very mean Perſons.

a *Ex Rot. Par. 18. H. 6.*

b *Ex hiſt. majori Math. Paris.*

Kings enforced to pawn and ſell their Dominions.

It hath cauſed our Kings to *ſell* and alienate the *poſſeſſions* of the Crown: as *Henry* the[c] 3. who gave to *Edward* his ſon *Licentiam impignorandi terram Vaſconiæ*, leave to pawn the *Dutchie* of *Gaſcoign*; And cauſed himſelf not long after by the like occaſions, to ſell for 300000 *l.* (except ſome pittances reſerved) the[e] entire *Signiorie* of *Normandie*. What our late Miſtris and her Father did, is yet freſh in memory. But this miſchief hath trenched deep into

c *Rot. Pat. anno* 51. *H.* 3. *m.* 17.

d *Ex contract. orig. & Hiſt. Norman.*

into the Fortunes and Affections of the Subjects, when Princes to repair the breach of their own Revenues, have often *resumed* the *possessions* of their people; as [a] *Edward* the second *anno* 5, 8, & 10. *Omnes donationes per Regem factas ad damnum & diminutionem Regis & Coronæ suæ*, all the Grants made by the King to the lessening and prejudicing of the King and his Crown. [b] *Richard* the second *an.* 1. did the like of all Grants made to unworthy persons by his Grandfather, and recalled all Patents dated since 40. of *Edward* 3. Thus did *Henry* [c] the 5. *an.* 1. and [d] *Henry* the 6. in the 28. of his Reign, *Edward* the 4. in *an.* 3. with all Offices of his Crown granted either by the *Usurper* or his Brother. Neither is this in it self unjust, since as well by reason of State as Rules of best Government, the Revenues and Profits [e] *quæ ad sacrum Patrimonium Principis pertinent*, which belong to the sacred Patrimony of the Prince, should remain firme and unbroken.

But when neither Credit, Frugality, or Sale of Lands would stop the gulf of want, our Princes have been so neer beset, as with *Nerva* and *Antonius* the *Emperors* to *sell* and *pawn* their *Jewells*. The Archbishop of *York* had power from *Henry* 3. *an.* 26. [f] (in wars beyond Sea) *impignorandi Iocalia Regis ubicunque in Anglia pro pecunia perquirenda*, to pawn the Kings Jewells any where in *England* to raise money. [g] *Edward* the first sendeth *Egidius Andevar ad Iocalia sua impignoranda*, to pawn his Jewells. [h] *Edward* the 3. pawneth his Jewells to pay the *L. Beaumont* and the Strangers their wages in war. The *Black* [i] *Prince* was

[a] *Rot. Vasc.* 5. E. 2. *Rot. finium an.* 8. *Rot. cui titulus, ex tract. de donacionib. a.* 9. & 10. E. 2. Kings enforced to make Resumption of their Lands.

[b] *Rot. Parl.* anno 1. R. 2.

[c] *Rot. Parl.* anno 1. Hen. 5 n. 12.

[d] *Rot. Parl.* anno 28. H. 6. & E. 4.

[e] *Ex legibus Theodos. & Valentinian. in Codice.*

Ks. enforced to pawn and sell their Jewells.

[f] *Rot. Pat.* anno 26. H. 3. m. 1. *Similiter an.* 56. H. 3. *in* 21. *m.*

[g] *Rot. Pat. Claus. an.* 2. E. 1. *m.* 7.

[h] *Claus. an.* 1. E. 3.

[i] *Tho. Walsingham.*

was constrained to break his Plate into Money to pay his Souldiers.

[a] *Richard* the second pawned *Vasa aurea & diversa Iocalia*, vessels of Gold and divers Jewells to Sir *Robert Knowles*. [b] *Henry* the 4. *an.* 3. to a Merchant for money *invadiavit Tabellam & Trisellas suas Argenteas de Hispania*, ingaged his Tablet and stools of Silver which he had from *Spain*. [c] *Henry* the 6. *gageth* and selleth to the *Cardinal* of *Winchester* and others *an.* 10.[h]. 12.th. and 29. [d] many parcells of his rich Jewells. And the late *Queen* in the end of her dayes (to ease her Subjects) did the like with many in the Tower.

And Extremity hath yet stretched some of our Kings to so high a stain of Shift, that *Edward* the third [e] *invadiavit magnam Coronam Angliæ*, pawned his Imperiall Crown 3. severall times; *an.* 17. *in partibus transmarinis* in forreign parts, and twice to Sir *John Wesenham* his Merchant, first in the [f] 24. and after [g] *an.* 30. in whose custody it remained 8. yeares. To *Henry Bishop* of *Winchester Henry* the 5. *invadiavit magnam Coronam auream*, gaged his imperiall Crown of Gold in the 5. of his Reign. And when *Henry* the third had laid to gage [h] *omnia Insignia Regalia*, all his Robes and Kingly Ornaments, and upon assurance of redelivery or satisfaction had pawned *Aurum & Iocalia Feretri S. Edwardi Confessoris*, the Gold and Jewells belonging to the Shrine of S. *Edward* the *Confessour*, (A course more moderate then by force to have taken, as *William* the *Conquerour* did the *Chalices* and *Shrines* of other *Churches*, or as [i] *Clement* the 7. who to pay the Souldiers of *Charles* the fifth melted the Conse-

a *Ex originali de anno* 6. *R.* 2. *Rot.* 17.
b *Pat. anno* 3. *H.* 4. *m.* 3.
c *Pat. an.* 10. *Hen.* 6. *Pat. anno* 12. *H.* 6. *m.* 13.
d *Pat. an.* 29. *H.* 6. *m.* 20.
Kings enforced to pawn their Regall Crown.
e *Pat. Pars* 1. *an.* 17. *E.* 3.
f *Pat. an.* 24. *m.* 21.
g *Clauſ. an.* 30 *E.* 3. *Com. de Ter. Hill.* 38. *E.* 3. *ex parte Rem. Regis.*
h *Pat. anno* 5. *H.* 3. *m.* 23. *& ſimiliter an.* 9. *Rot. Pat. an.* 51. *H.* 3. *m.* 17. *&* 18.
i *Ex hiſtoria Guicciardini.*

Conſecrated Veſſels) was in the end, when he had neither means of his own left nor reputation with others, conſtrained to beg relief of his Subjects in this low ſtrain, [a] *Pauper ſum, omni deſtitutus Theſauro; neceſſe habeo ut me juvetis: nec aliquid exigo niſi per gratiam*; I am poor, and have no Treaſure left; ye muſt needs relieve me: neither do I demand any thing but of your mere love and courteſy: And turning to the Abbot of *Ramſey*, to ſay, *Amice, obnixe ſupplico quatenus me juvas mihi centum libras conferendo*, My friend, I beſeech thee for Gods ſake to help me with 100. pound: adding withall *majorem Eleemoſynam fore ſibi juvamen conferre pecuniamve, quam alicui oſtiatim mendicanti*, that it would be a greater deed of Charity to contribute to his Wants, then to give to one that begged from door to door. So that of the waſte of theſe times and want of thoſe Princes I may truly with the *Satyriſt* ſay,

[a] *Ex hiſt. S. Albani.*

Oſſa vides Regum vacuis exuta medullis.

Thou ſeeſt the Bones of Kings ſpoi'ld of their Marrow.

IT now reſteth by ſome few particulars to obſerve with what Wealth we have returned home, loaden with the Spoils of our Enemies; ſince no motives are ſo powerfull to the Common greedy People as the hopes of gain, which will eaſily enforce them.

In place of ſpoile the Souldiers return oppreſſed with extreme Beggery.

[b] *Ire ſuper gladios, ſuperque Cadavera patrum,*
Et cæſos calcare Duces,——

[b] *Lucan. de Bello Civili lib. 7.*

Tread upon Swords, and on their Fathers Graves,
And ſpurn their ſlaughter'd Captains.——

In

In the Expeditions of *Henry* 3. their purchases were so great, that the [a] *Londoners* were more grieved at the intolerable *Beggeries* that the King and his Army brought back, then for the expence of their own monyes; For

[a] *Math. Paris pag.* 580.

Cum labor in damno est crescit mortalis egestas,

When Toil brings Loss, Begg'ry must needs increase.

The same King, although called in by the Nobility of *France* [b] in Faction against their Master, returned no better rewarded then *Consumpta pecunia infinita, & Nobilibus & Militibus innumeralibus vel Morti datis vel infirmitati, vel fame attenuatis, vel ad extremam redactis paupertatem*, with the having spent an infinite deal of money, his Nobles and Souldiers without number being either slain, or sickly, or maimed, or half-starved, or else reduced to extreme poverty.

[b] *Hist. Mat. Paris p.*1358

Innocentius the *Pope* repayed the expence of *Henry* the 3. and his people in his *Sicilian* Service with no better wages then this Scoffe, That *England* was [c] *Puteus inexhaustus quem nullus poterat exsiccare*, a Well not to be emptied which no man could draw dry. What the succeeding times afforded may be well gathered out of the many Petitions in Parliament, 22. *Edward* 3. 4. and 7. of *Richard* 2. 8. of *Henry* 5. and 10. of *Henry* 6. ever complaining of the extreme Beggery the people brought home, and desiring some speedy Relief.

[c] *Math. Paris pag.* 909.

The Treasure [d] *Henry* the 8. spent in aide of *Maximilian* about recovery of *Verona* nullum aliud factum nisi damnum & dedecus peperit,

[d] *Ex lit. Cardin. Wolsei ad Card. Sodrin.*

perit, brought him nothing elſe but Loſs and Diſhonour. For the *Emperour* having his turn ſerved, delivered, contrary to Contract, that City to the *French*, threatning to confederate with them, *ni Rex ei continuo perſolveret*, unleſs the King would forthwith pay him down a great ſumme of money; believing (as the words are) *Minis & terrore ab hoc Rege pecuniam poſſe haberi*, that this King would part with his money upon threatnings and great words. For the great Army of this King ſent over into *France*, and the Million almoſt of Crowns he ſupplied the *Emperour* and *Duke* of *Burbon* with in their wars of *Millan*, his People enduring new and unheard of Taxes at home, and his Souldiers great Extremity abroad, he was himſelf at the laſt of all, (their ends effected) having ſpent the Treaſure of his Father, and the Bounty of his Subjects, forſaken and left as the Paſquill painted him, *inter Moyſem, Chriſtum & Mahumetem*, betwixt *Moſes*, *Chriſt* and *Mahomet*, with this word, *Quo me vertam neſcio*, Which way to turn me I know not. For 2. Millions of [a] *Crowns* beſtowed in purchaſe of *Tournay*, not without ſuite of his own, he delivered it with little or no recompence: & rated his potentiall Intereſt of *France* at no greater Summe then an Annuity [b] of 100000. Crowns. What from the 30. of this King untill the laſt of his ſon *Edward* the ſixth for [c] 3173478. *l.* 15ˢ. 4ᵈ. ſpent at Sea and Land in Forraign wars, this State received of inrichment, it ſeemeth ſo mean, as not worthy any place either in Story or Accompts.

[a] *Ex Inſtruct. Rich. Wingfield.*

[b] *Ex lit. Tho. Wolſey Epiſc. Lincoln.*

[c] *Ex computo in Archivis Rob. Com. Salisb.*

Untill the late *Queen* was drawn into wars, ſhe had in Treaſure 700000. *l.* but after ſhe was

was once intangled, it cost her before the 30. of her Reign 1517351. *l.* at which time she was but entering into the vastness of her future Charge: For the annuall expence of 126000. *l.* in the *Low-Countries*, from 1587. untill 1593. the yearly disbursment for [a] *Flushing* and the *Brill* 28482. *l.* the debts of the States 800000. *l.* and the Aides of the *French* King since he attained to that Crown to above 401734. *l.* was after that time. Thus by reason of warre, besides Taxes upon her People to the Summe of two Millions, and 800000. *l.* by Subsidies, Tenths & Fifteens, she hath spent of her Lands, Jewells and Revenues an infinite proportion.

[a] *Ex tractat. anno* 1598.

As for the imaginary Profit grown by the many rich Spoils at Sea and Attempts in *Spain*, it may be well cast up by two examples of our best Fortunes. The Journey of *Cales* [b] defrayed not the Charge to her Majesty by 64000. *l.* And our times of most advantage by Prizes between [c] *anno* 30. and 34. of the *Queen*, wherein we received but 64044. *l.* defrayed not the Charge of her Navy, arising in the same yeares to 275761. *l.* As to the greatest Losse, expence of *Christian* Blood, it may well suffice to be moan with * *Horace*,

[b] *Ex computo deliberat. Domino Thesaur. Burleigh.*

[c] *Ex computo Joannis Hawkins Thesaur. Naviæ.*

* *Hor. Epo. 7.*

Parumne Campis atque Neptuno super-
fusum est Latini sanguinis?
Neque hic Lupis mos nec fuit Leonibus
Unquam, nisi in dispar feris.

Is there as yet so little Latine Bloud
Spilt on the Fields and Flouds?
Nor Wolves nor Lions do we ever find
So cruel to their kind.

The

THe laſt motive from Utility is, increaſe of Revenues to the publick Treaſury by addition of Forreign *Dominions*. Which can receive no anſwer ſo full of ſatisfaction, as to inſtance the particular Summes, exhauſted in every Age to retain them. Beginning firſt with the *Dutchie* of *Normandy*: For retention whereof *William* the *Conquerour* from hence, (as the [a] Author ſaith) laden *Theſauris innumeris*, with uncountable Treaſure, exacted *ſive per fas ſive per nefas*, *in Normanniam transfretavit*, gathethered together by hook or by crook, wafted over into *Normandy*. His Son [b] *ad retinendam Normanniam*, *Angliam excoriavit*, to retain *Normandy* flayed off *Englands* skin. The ſame end by [c] *Henry* the firſt, *Anglia fuit bonis ſpoliata*, *England* was deſpoiled of its Goods. His [d] Grand-child took *Scutagium pro Exercitu Normanniæ*, a Scutage for his army in *Normandy* 3. times at a high rate; and was inforced then againſt incurſions of the *French* to build and man [e] 13 Caſtles *de novo & integro*, intirely new.

Forreign Dominions alwaies charge, no benefit.

Example in Normandy.

[a] *Math. Par.*

[b] *Ex Legibus antiquis.*

[c] *Ex Walt. Gisborn.*

[d] *Ex lib. Rubro.*

[e] *Ex lib. Pipnell.*

Richard the firſt [f] exacted heavily upon his people, *ut potentes homines Regis Franciæ ſibi conciliaret*, *ut terram propriam Normanniæ tutaretur*, therewith to make himſelf friends amongſt the moſt powerfull Courtiers of *France*, ſo to keep quietly his poſſeſſions in *Normandy*.

[f] *Rad. Coggeſhall.*

King *John* [g] as wearied with the Charge neglected it: And his Son [h] feeling a burden more then benefit, reſigned his intereſt there for a little Money. When it was again reduced by *Henry* the fifth, [i] the judgement in Councel was, That the keeping of it would be no leſſe of expence then to war forth for all *France*. In the quiet

[g] *Math. Par.*

[h] *Ex Archiv. de redit. Norman. tempore H. 3.*

[i] *Ex origin. Inſtr. Domini Scrope.*

quiet possession of his Son *Henry* [a] (*John Duke* of *Bedford* then Regent) this *Dutchie* cost the Crown of *England* 10942. *l.* yearly. In *an.* 10. & 2. *H.* 6. it appeareth by the Accompts of the Lord *Cromwell* Treasurer of *England*, that out of the Kings Exchequer at *Westminster* the entertainment of the Garrison and Governour was defrayed, the Rents of the Dutchy not supporting the charge ordinary. [c] When *Richard Duke* of *York* was in the 15. year of *Henry* the 6. *Regent*, the certain Expence overballanced the Receipt 34008. *l.* And *an.* 27. [d] the Lord *Hastings* *Chancellour* of *France* declareth in Parliament, that *Normandy* was not able to maintain it self. But thus it continued not much longer; for this Crown was both eased of the *Dutchy* and Charge shortly.

[a] *Ex libro Dominí Carew de anno* 1. & 2. *H.* 6.

[b] *Ex Rot. Par. de an.* 11. *H.* 6

[c] *Ex lib. originali Roberti Cotton.*

[d] *Rot. Parl. an.* 27. *H.* 6. *n.* 27.

Aquitain, Gascoign, Guien.

Of the *Principality* of *Aquitain*, the *Duchie of Gascoign*, *Guien* and the Members, I find the state thus in record. In the 26. of *Henry* 3. [e] there was issued from the Treasurer & Chamberlains at *Westminster* 10000. *l.* for paiments in *Gascoign*; besides an infinite proportion of Victualls and Munition thither sent. To retain this *Dutchie* in Duty and possession, [f] this king was inforced to pawn his Jewells, being *ære alieno graviter obligatus*, *Thesauris*, *Donativis*, *Tallagiis*, & *exterſionibus in Anglia consumptis*; very much indebted, and having spent all his Treasures, Grants, Tallages, and other Sweepings in *England*. Besides the people there at his departure *extorserunt ab eo confessionem quadraginta millia Marcarum*, forced an acknowledgement from him of 40000. Marks. And a Story of that time saith of *ann.* 38. [g] *Ille per multos labores & expensas inutiliter re-*

[e] *Rot. liber. anno* 26. *H.* 3.

[f] *Rot. an.* 22. *H.* 6.

[g] *Math. Paris Pag.* 578.

recuperavit Caſtra ſua propria Vaſconiæ, with a great deal of toyle and expenſe, he unprofitably recovered his own Caſtles in *Gaſcoign*: of which the Labour was more then ever the Benefit could be.

And thus it appeareth to have continued; for *an.* 17. [a] of *Edward* the ſecond, the money diſburſed out of *England* to defray the ſurcharge there came to 46595. *l.* 9. ſhillings 7[d]. beſides 29660. *Quarters* of Grain, and of Beeves and Bacons an infinite proportion. In the firſt of *Edward* the 3. [b] the iſſues of *Gaſcoign* were 10000. *l.* above the Revenues. The *Signiories* in *Aquitain* [c] coſt in 8. years ending 36. of this King, 192599. *l.* 4. ſhill. 5[d]. *de receptis forinſecis* onely. It was delivered in Parliament, *an.* 1. *Rich.* 2. [d] that *Gaſcoign*, and ſome few other places that were then held in *France*, coſt yearly this Crown 42000. *l.* And in the 17th. of this King [e] a Parliament was ſummoned for no other cauſe eſpeciall, then to provide money to clear the annuall expences of thoſe parts. The charge of *Bordeaux* [f] but one Town, ſurmounting in half a year all Rents and perquiſites there 2232. *l.* As *Fronſack* in *Aquitain* 5787. *l.* for double that time; when the intire *Dutchie* exceeded not 820. *l.* in yearly Revenues.

The Charge of *Guien* all the Reign of *Henry* 4. [g] was 2200 *l.* annually out of the Exchequer of *England*. By accompt *Aquitain* (beſides *Guien* 6606. *l.*) was the [h] firſt of *Henry* the fifth in ſurpluſſage of charge 11200. *l.* & the Town of [i] *Bordeaux* the 5. firſt years of the ſame King 6815. *l.* In the 11. of [k] *Henry* the 6. Sir *Iohn Radcliffe* Steward of *Aquitain* received from

[a] *Ex Comput. Willielm. de Otterhampton, anno* 17. *E.* 2.
[b] *Pat. an.* 1. *E.* 3.
[c] *Ex Comput. Richardi Longley an.* 36. *E.* 3. *in Theſaur. Regis Weſtmon. in Rot. Aquitaniæ.*
[d] *Rot. Parl. anno* 1. *R.* 2. *m.* 24.
[e] *Rot. Parl. anno* 17. *R.* 2.
[f] *Ex Comput. Walt. de Weſton.*
[g] *Ex Comput. Tho. Swinburn anno* 10. *H.* 4.
[h] *Ex Comput. Ioannis Tiptoft an.* 1. *H.* 5.
[i] *Ex Comput. Will. Clifford & Robert Holme an.* 5. *H.* 5.
[k] *Ex Rot. Par. an.* 11. *H.* 6.

the Treasury of *England pro vadiis suis*, &c. 2729. *l.* and for expense in custody of *Fronsack* Castle onely he payed 666. *l.* 13. shill. the profits of the *Dutchie* no wayes able to cleare the Accompts.

Britanny.

The Benefit we reaped by any footing in *Britanny*, may in a few Examples appeare. [a] *Henry* the third confesseth that *ad defensionem Britanniæ non sufficiebant Angliæ Thesauri, quod jam per triennium comprobavit*, that the Treasure of *England* would not suffice to maintain *Britanny*, which he had found to be true upon 3 years tryall: and left in the end *tam laboriosis expensis amplius fatigari*, to tire himself farther with such toilsome expenses.

[a] *Ex Math. Paris.*

Brest.

The Town of *Brest* [b] cost *Richard* the second 12000. Marks a year, and it stood him in *an.* 9. in 13118. *l.* 18. shillings.

[b] *Rot. Parl. anno* 2. R. 2. *Ex Comput. Tho. Parry. Cust. Castri de Brest*, [a] 9. R. 2

Callis.

For *Callis*, I will deliver with as much shortness as may be, from the first acquisition untill the losse, in every age the Expense (for the most part either out of the Treasury or Customes of *England*,) disbursed. [c] From the 18. of *Edward* the 3. untill the 21. in which space it was taken, the Charge amounted to 337400. *l.* 9. shil. 4[d]. *Anno* 28. of the same King for little more then a yeare 17847. *l.* 5. shillings. In *an.* 29. 30581. *l.* 18[d]. for 2. years compleat. [d] In 30. received by *Richard de Eccleshal* Treasurer of *Callis* from the Bishop of *Winchester* Treasurer of *England*, 17847. *l.* [e] And in the yeare following 26355. *l.* 15. shillings. [f] In the second of *Richard* 2. *de receptis forinsecis*, which was money from the Exchequer at *Westminster*, 20000. *l.* for 3 yeares compleat. [g] *Anno* 5. 19783. *l.* For three yeares ending

[c] *Ex Comput. Williel. Horwell in Thesaur. Regis.*
[d] *Ex comput. Richardi Eccleshall de annis* 28, 29, *&* 30. *E.* 3.
[e] *Ex Rot. Par. anno* 2. R. 2.
[f] *Ex Comput. Rob. Thorley.*
[g] *Ex Comput. Simonis de Berg.*

[a] *anno* 10.

[a] *anno* 10. 77375. *l.* For the like term untill *ann.* 13. 48609. *l.* 8. ſhillings. And [b] for the 4. ſucceeding yeares 90297. *l.* 19. ſhil. And for the laſt 3 yeares of his Reign, 85643. *l.*

From the end of [c] *Richard* 2. untill the 4 of *Henry* 4. for 3. yeares [d] 62655. *l.* 17. ſhillings. And for one ſucceeding, 19783. *l.* The Charge in Victuall and Proviſion for 2. yeares 5. moneths in this Kings Reign [e] 46519. *l.* 15. ſhillings.

In the firſt 4. and peaceable yeares of his Son there was iſſued from the Treaſury of *England* [f] 86938. *l.* 10. ſhil. for this place. And from *anno* 8. untill the 9. 65363. *l.* It coſt *Henry* the [g] 6. above all Revenue 9054. *l.* 5. ſhillings in *an.* 11. The Subſidies in *England* were *an.* 27. [h] levied in Parliament to defray the wages and reparation of *Callis*. And the [i] 31. of this King there was a Fifteen and 2. ſhil. of every Sack of Wooll impoſed upon the Subjects here to the ſame end. [k] And the Parliament of 33. was aſſembled of purpoſe to order a courſe for diſcharge of wages and expence at *Callis*: and the like authority directed 4. of *Edward* the fourth, [l] that the Souldiers there ſhould receive Victualls and ſalary from out of the Subſidies of *England*. The diſburſement thereof one yeare being 12771. *l.* [m] And in the 16. of the ſame King for like term there was *de Portu London, Hull, Sancti Botolphi, Poole, & Sandwico*, by the Ports of *London, Hull, Boſton, Pool, & Sandwich*, 12488. *l.* paid to the Treaſury of *Callis*. [n] And in *an.* 20. from out of the Cuſtomes of the ſame Ports to the ſame end 12290. *l.* 18. ſhillings. [o] And in 22. 11102. *l.* And the year following 10788. *l.* The ſetled ordinary wages of

[a] *Ex Comput. Rog. de Wald. anno* 13. *R.* 2. *&* 15.
[b] *Ex Comput. Joannis Bernam, anno* 23. *R.* 2.
[c] *Ex Comput. Ro. Thorley.*
[d] *Ex Comput. Nich. Uske.*
[e] *Ex Comput. Rob. Thorley.*
[f] *Ex Comput. Rob. Salvin, de annis* 5. *H.* 5.
[g] *Rot. Parl. an.* 11. *H.* 6.
[h] *Rot. Parl. anno* 27.
[i] *Rot. Parl. anno* 31.
[k] *Rot. Parl. anno* 33.
[l] *Rot. Parl.* 4. *E.* 4.
[m] *Ex comput. Majoris Staplæ anno* 1. *R.* 3.
[n] *Ex comput. origin. inter Chartas Roberti Cotton.*
[o] *Ex comput. Domini Liſle.*

the Garriſon in this Town yearly was 24.
a *Ex lib. de expenſ. Bellor. H. 8. & E. 6. in Muſæo Com. Salisbur.*
a *Henry* 8. 8834. *l.* And about 30th. when the Viſcount *Liſle* was *Deputy*, 8117. *l.* And from the 30th. of this King to the end of his Son *Edw.* 6. this place did coſt the Crown 371428. *l.* 18. ſhil. From the firſt purchaſe of it by *Edward* the 3. untill the loſſe thereof by *Queen Mary*, it was ever a perpetuall iſſue of the Treaſure of this Land, which might in continuance have rather grown to be a burthen of Danger to us, then any Fort of Security. For from the waſte of money, which is *Nervus Reipublicæ*, the Sinew of a Common-wealth, as *Ulpian* ſaith, we may conclude with *Tacitus*, *Diſſolutionem Imperii docet, ſi fructus quibus Reſpub. ſuſtinetur diminuantur*, it foreſhews the ruine of an Empire, if that be impaired which ſhould be the ſuſtenance of the Common-wealth. And therefore it was not the worſt opinion (at ſuch time as the Captivity of *Francis* the *French* King incited b *Henry* the 8. to put off that Kingdome, although in the cloſe *major pars vicit meliorem*, the greater party out-voted the better,) that to gain any thing in *France* would be more chargeable then profitable, and the keeping more then the enjoying. The iſſue was in *Tournay*, *Bullen*, and this Town manifeſt. Beſides the jealouſy that Nation ever held over our deſignes and their own liberty. For as *Græcia libera eſſe non potuit dum Philippus Græciæ Compedes tenuit*, *Greece* could never be free ſo long as *Philip* had the Fetters of *Greece* in his cuſtody; ſo as long as by retention of *Callis* we had an eaſy deſcent into, and convenient place to trouble the Country, a Fetter to intangle them, they neither had aſſurance of their own

b *Ex litera Archiep. Cant. Card. Wolſey.*

quiet,

quiet, nor we of their Amity. And it was not the leaſt Argument from *Conveniencie* in the detention of *Callis* (after the 8 yeares expired of Re-delivery) uſed by the *Chancellour* of *France*, [a] That we ſhould gain much more in aſſured peace, which we could never have ſo long as we were Lords of that Town, then by any benefit it did or could yield us. It was never but a Pike and Quarrell between the two Realms: For upon every light diſpleaſure, either Princes would take by and by to *Callis*, and make war there. *God* hath made a ſeparation naturall betwixt both *Nations*, a ſure wall and defence,

Et penitus toto diviſos Orbe Britannos;

That is, the Engliſh were divided from all the world.

But a little more to inform the weight of theſe Charges, it is not amiſſe to touch (by way of comfort) that from which we are ſo happily by the infinite bleſſings of God and benignity of a Gracious King delivered; and alſo that other of burthen ſtill, (though much lightened) untill conformity of Affections and deſigns of Councells ſhall further effect a Remedie.

The Charge of *Barwick* and the *Frontiers* in 20. [b] *Edward* 3. was 3129. *l.* for three yeares. In the end of *Richard* 2. & entrance of *Henry* the 4. [c] 10153. *l.* And [d] 11. of *Henry* 6. the Cuſtodie of the Marches 4766. *l.* In the 2. *Mariæ* the annuall Charge of *Barwick* was 9413. *l.* [e] And in *an.* 2. *Elizabeth* 13430. *l.* And *an.* 26. 12391. *l.*

The Kingdome of *Ireland*, beyond the Revenues, was 29. *E.* 3. [f] 2285. *l.* *An.* 30. [g] 2880. *l.* and [h] *an.* 50. 1808. *l.* All the time of *Richard* 2. [i] it never defrayed the charges; And came ſhort

[a] *Ex litera Thomæ Smith Secret: anno* 1567. 3. *Maii.*

[b] *Ex comput. Joannis Tiptoft.*

[c] *Ex comput. Hen. Percy, anno* 1. H. 4.

[d] *Parl. an.* 11. H. 6.

[e] *Ex muſæo Com. Saliſbury.*

[f] *Ex comput. Williel. de Brumleigh.* Barwick.

[g] *Ex comput. Nicol. Epiſc. Meth, an.* 30. *Ed.* 3.

[h] *Ex comput. Tho. Scurlay anno* 50. E. 3. Ireland.

[i] *Ex comput. Joan. Spencer, de annis R.* 2.

[a] *Ex Rot. Par. anno 11. H. 6.*

in 11. *Henry* 6. 4000. Marks [a] of annuall issues. The Revenue there in *omnibus exitibus & proficuis*, in all the rents and profits yearly, by Accompt of *Cromwell* Lord Treasurer, not above 3040. *l.* But passing over these elder times; in the Reign of the late *Queen*, when the yearly Revenue was not 15000. *l.* the expence for 2. yeares [b] ending 1571. amounted to 116874. *l.* In *anno* 1584. for lesse then 2 yeares came it to 86983. *l.* [c] The charge there in two years of S. *Iohn Parrots* government ending 1586. was 116368. *l.* In *anno* 1597. the Receipt not above 25000. *l.* the issue was 91072. *l.* And when in 35. *Elizabeth* the Rents and Profits of that Kingdome exceeded not 27118. *l.* the Disbursments in 7 moneths were 171883. *l.* The Charge 1601. [d] for 9 moneths 167987. *l.* And for the two yeares following accounted by the allayed money 670403. *l.* And in the first of the King, 84179. *l.* Whose government although it hath blessed both us and that Kingdome with the benefit of Peace, yet hath it not delivered himself from a large and yearly expence here for supportation of that State out of his own Treasure. And thus far in answer of the Argument from increase of *Revenue* by forreign *Dominions*.

[b] *Ex annotat. Dom. Burleigh ex Musæo Com. Salisbury.*

[c] *Ex comput. Rad. Lane.*

[d] *Ex comput. in Musæo Com. Salisbury Thesaur. Angliæ.*

Addition of any forreign Title no Honour.

As to the Arguments of *Honour* by addition of Titles and forreign *Territories*; it may suffice in answer, That so long as this Crown was actually possessed of any such *Signiorie*, the *Tenure* and Service did ever bring with it a note and badge of *Vassallage*; then which nothing to so free a *Monarch* as the King of *England* (who is [e] *Monarcha in Regno, & tot & tanta habet Pri-*

[e] *Baldus.*

Privilegia quot Imperator in Imperio, a Monarch in his Kingdome, and hath as many and as large Priviledges therein as an Emperour in his Empire,) could be more in blemiſh or oppoſition. To write *Domino Regi noſtro Franciæ*, To our Lord the King of *France*, as during the time we held the *Provinces* in *France* we uſually did in all our Letters and publick Contracts with that Crown, can be called no addition of *Honour*. And whether upon every command to act in perſon thoſe baſe ſervices of *Homage* and *Fidelity*, as firſt in putting off the *Imperiall Crown*, the kneeling low at the foot of that King, and taking an oath to become *Homme liege du Roys de France*, a liege ſubject to the Kings of *France*, *&c.* we in performing ſo the duties of a Subject, do not much more diſparage the dignity of a Soveraign, is no queſtion of doubt. From theſe conſiderations of Reputation and Honour, (the greateſt ſtayes that ſupport Majeſtie, and retain Obedience) our Kings of *England* have as far as to the forfeit of thoſe Signiories, either avoided or refuſed the ſervices. As *King Iohn* did *Normandy*; and *Edward* the 2. reſigned to his Son the *Dutchie* of *Aquitain*, to put off the act of homage from himſelf, to whom it could not in reſpect of his Regaltie but be a diſhonour. As appeareth in *Henry* the 2. who having made his Son *Conſortem Imperii*, a King of *England* with him, *Homagium a Filio noluit* (ſaith the Record) *quia Rex fuit, ſed ſecuritatem accepit*; would not receive Homage of him, becauſe he was a King, but took his Security. In the 17. of *Richard* 2. the Lords and Juſtices would not conſent to a Peace with *France*, unleſſe the King might not

Stile of Normandy and Aquitain, accounted by our Kings a vaſſalage.

do *Homage*, they held it so base, supposing thereby the liberty of the Kings Person and Subject wronged. And thus much of the little *Reputation* that either in *Title* or *Territorie* those subordinate *Dutchies* in *France* added to this Crown.

Stile of France restrained by petition in Parliament.

As for the *Kingdome* of *France*, the people of *England* were so little in love with that Title, as any *Honour* to them, that by Acts of Parliament 14. *Edward* 3. and 8. *Edward* 5. they provided that the Subjects of *England* should owe no Obedience to the King as King of *France*, nor the Kingdome of *England* be in any wise subjected by such *Union* to that Crown.

France possessed would leave us to the misery of a province

And so much we have ever been in fear of that place, lest it might leave this State to the misery of a *Provinciall* Government: as in 17. of *Henry* 6. the Commons urged to contribute for the recovery of that Crown, answered, that the gaining of any footing in *France* would induce the Kings aboad there, and by such absence cause great decay and desolation in this State; besides the transport of our Money in the mean time, which would inrich that Countrey, and impoverish the Realm at home, whereby we should justly again say, [a] *Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie poscit*, The *Britans* are every day begging to be slaves, every day giving money for it.

[a] *Tacit. in vita Agricolæ.*

To enterprise any war, not so easy.

THe last motive is, the advantage we now have of greater *Facilitie* and *assurance* of Successe in any forreign enterprise, by this happy *Union* of both Kingdoms, then ever any of our Ancestours had.

To

To which in anſwer nothing can be more full, then laying down the motives and means that led on the Kings of this Realm to attempt and proſperouſly effect their undertakings in other parts, weigh how they ſuite theſe times, and whether that any or all the advantages we now have may be to them of equall worth and valuation. The firſt conſideration is in *Place*, the next in *Perſon*. In the wars of *France* (whether thoſe for the defence of particular *Signiories*, or competition of the intire Kingdome) we had ever Ports to land at, & Forts to retire to, which now we have not. The coaſt of *Normandy* was our own, by which we might enter the midſt of *France*. And *Edward* 3. when he intended to annoy the Eaſt part, ſided with *Montfort* againſt *Charles de Bloys*, whom he inveſted with the *Dutchie* of *Britain*, that ſo he might have there an eaſy footing. Thus by leave of his Confederats in *Flanders* he had ſafe entrance for all his Army to invade the other ſide, and a ſure retreat, when upon any occaſion he would come back, as he did to *Antwerp*. And whereſoever any army may have a quiet deſcent, the greateſt difficultie is overcome; for the reſt conſiſteth in *Chance*, wherein Fortune is rather wont to prevaile then *Vertue*. But [a] *ibi grave eſt Bellum gerere, ubi nullus eſt Claſſi Portus apertus, non ager pacatus, non Civitas Socia, non conſiſtendi aut procedendi locus, quocunque circumſpexeris hoſtilia ſunt omnia*; There 'tis a hard task to wage war, where there is no Port open for our Navy, the Countrey our enemy, no City our Confederate, no place to make a ſtand or to march out from, but whitherſoever a man looks, he can ſee nothing but hoſtile intentions againſt

Meanes of ſucceſſe formerly.

Advantage of Place and Party.

Advantage of Place.

[a] *Livy lib. 28.*

against us. And this must be now our case, which was never our Ancestours.

Advantage personall was either found or made. A Party.

For the *Persons* considerable, they are the Subjects to our enemies, or our own Confederats. Of the first, our Kings heretofore did either work upon the opportunity of any dissension ministred, or by Pension & Reward either make a fraction in Obedience, or Neutrality in Assistance with the Subjects of their Adversary. The *Duke* of *Burgundy*, *Earls* of *Britain*, *Dreux* and others in *France*, offended with their Sovereign, [a] *Confœderati erant Comiti Britanniæ Henrico & Regi Angliæ*, became Confederates with *Henry* Earle of *Britain* and King of *England*; and thereupon drew him over into *Britain*. [b] The same King by yearly Pensions of 7000. *l.* kept divers in *Poicton* in fraction against their Lord and their own Loyaltie. *Edward* 3. had never undertaken the conquest of *France*, if [c] *Robert de Artoys* (displeased with the Sentence of *Philip* his Master for that *Earldome*) had not incited and complotted for him, as *Godfrey* of *Harecourt* did after. Nor *Henry* [d] 5. if the unsound memory of the *French* King, the jealousy of those Princes & *Orleantial Faction* had not made his way and Fortune.

[a] *Math. Paris in vita H.3.*

[b] *Math. Par. vita Hen.3.*

[c] *Froisard.* [d] *Walsingham. T. Livius Forolivienſis in vita He.5.*

Confederates were the onely ground of all the good successe.

Confederates.

THe Confederates our Kings held formerly for mutuall Aide were of such consequence in all their affairs,

fairs, that thoſe ſo beſt ſtrengthened atchieved ever the greateſt and moſt glorious victories. As the firſt and 3d. *Edwards*, the 5th. and 8th. *Henries*. Whereas *Henry* the ſixth, that was of all the reſt left moſt naked to himſelf, although the greateſt otherwiſe in opportunity, loſt all the purchaſe of his Anceſtours in the end. It is not amiſſe in ſuch a foundation of Greatneſs as Confederacy, to lay down ſucceſſively, firſt, with whom we tied that knot of love; then, what were the motives or aſſurances; and laſtly, whether the ſame in both is left to our occaſions and will now or no.

A liſt of all the Confederates from *Hen.* the firſts Reign to the end of the laſt Queen.

Henry the firſt, but to aſſure his own poſſeſſions beyond Sea, [a] *adſcivit in præſidium Comitem Britanniæ, & Theobaldum Comitem Bleſenſem*, called to his aide the Earle of *Britain*, and *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys*.

Henry the ſecond did the like with [b] *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*. And again [c] *cum Theodorico Comite Flandriæ, Baronibus, Caſtellanis, & cæteris hominibus Comitis*, with *Theodoric* Earle of *Flanders*, the Barons, Governours of Caſtles, and other the Subjects of the ſaid Earle; who ſtood bound to ſerve him *in ſummonitione ſua, ſicut Domino, pro feodis quæ de ipſo teneant*, upon a ſummons, as well as their own Lord, for the Fees which they held of him.

Baldwin Earle of *Flanders* contracteth under Bond [d] *mutui ſubſidii, quod ſine Rege Richardo Angliæ non componeret cum Rege Francorum*, of mutuall aide, that he would not come to agreement with the *French* King without *Richard* King of *England*. And the [e] *Britains relicto Rege Franciæ Regi Richardo adhæſe-*

[a] *Ex Contract. orig. in Arch. Theſ. weſt.* Richard 2.

[b] *Ex Radulph. de Diceto.*

[c] *Ex orig. ſignat. à Comite & Caſtellanis, in Theſ. weſt.* Richard 2.

[d] *Ex Radulph. de Diceto.*

[e] *Matth. Paris* 184.

hæserunt, forsaking the King of *France*, did joyn with King *Richard*.

King John. Between King *Iohn* [a] and the Earle of *Flanders* there was a Combination *mutui auxilii contra Regem Francorum*, of mutuall assistance against the *French* King. [b] The like with the City of *Doway* and Earle of *Holland*.

a *In dorso cla. an.* 1. *Joannis.*

b *Ex orig. in Thes. Westm.*

Henry 3. *Henry* 3. *an.* 11. drew [c] *Peter* Duke of *Britany* into Confederacy against the *French*; and *Fernand* Earle of *Flanders* with a Pension annuall of 500. Marks. [d] And *anno* 38. *Alfonsus* King of *Castile* combineth with him and his heirs *contra omnes homines in mundo*, against all the men in the World. To whom he remained so constant, that *an.* 8. and 10. *Edw.* 1. he would not grant a Truce to the *French* King, but *ad preces & instantiam* at the instant suit of the King of *England*.

c *Dors. pat.* 11. H. 3. *m.* 11.

d *Rot. lib. an.* 14. H. 3. *m.* 7. *ex originali.*

Edward 1. *Edward* 1. *an.* 13. [e] by a pretence of intermarriage drew *Florence* Earle of *Holland* from the *French* to his party: [f] and the yeare following, by mediation of the Lord of *Black-mont*, the Earle of *Flanders*, who in [g] *an.* 20. assisted him in the wars of *Gascoign*. [h] In the 22. he combined with *Adolph* King of the *Romans*, and the Earle of *Gueldres*; tying the Nobility of *Burgundie* with a yearly donative of 30000. *l. Turonensium* to aid him *contra Regem Franciæ*, against the *French* King. [i] He had *Guido* Earle of *Flanders* and *Philip* his son for 100000. *l. Turonensium* in pay against the *French* King, [k] *an.* 24, 25, and 31. of his Reign; [k] retaining the Earle of *Gueldres* by pay of 1000000. *l.* the *Duke* of *Lorrain* by 1600000. *l.* [l] the Nobility of *Burgundy* by a Pension of 30000. *l.* and *Wallerand* Lord of *Montay* by 300. *l. Turonen-*

e *Clauf. an.* 13. Edw. 1.

f *Ex origin. in Thesaur.*

g *Rot. Vascon. an.* 20. *m.* 19.

h *Rot. Alman. de annis* 22. *&* 31. *m.* 13.

i *Ex origin. sub sigillo in Thes. Westm.*

k *Rot. Alman. an.* 31. *m.* 14.

l *Dors. Rot. Alman.* 18.

ronenſium in his ſervice the ſame yeare. [a] And in *an.* 34. *Reginaldum Comitem Montis Beliardi & alios de Burgundia contra Regem Franciæ*, *Reginald* Earle of *Mont-Belliard* and other *Burgundians* againſt the King of *France*.

[a] *Rot. Pat. an.* 34. *m.* 24.

Edward 2. had [b] *auxilium tam maritimum quam terreſtre à Genoenſibus*, aſſiſtance as well by Sea as by Land from the *Genoeſes*. [c] And in *an.* 18. beſides his Alliance with *Flanders*, *Iohn Protectour* of *Caſtile* aideth him *contra Gallos cum* 1000. *equitibus & peditibus, & Scutiferis* 10000. againſt the *French* with 1000. horſe and foot, and 10000 other armed men.

Edward 2.
[b] *Rot. Vaſco. an.* 9. & 11.
[c] *Dorſ. Clauſ. an.* 18. *m.* 7.

Edward the 3.d had by the Marriage of *Philip*, the Earle of *Henault* & *Holland* her Father aſſured to him; and retained *Iohn* of *Henault* and his Followers, [e] *qui venerunt in auxilium adrogatum Regis*, who came to aſſiſt the King at his call, with a Salary of 14000. *l.* yearly. Before he adventured to avow and maintain his Challenge to the Kingdome of *France*, [f] he made up to his partie *Lodowick* the *Emperour*, (who the better to countenance his enterpriſe, elected him *Vicarium Imperii*, Vicar of the Empire.) [g] *Reginald* Earle of *Geldres*, *Lewis* Marqueſſe of *Brandenburg*, *Conrade* Lord of *Hard*, who ſerved him with 50. men at Armes, the *Cardinall* of *Genoa* and his Nephew, who aided him with *Galleys*, the Magiſtrates of *Colen*, *Bruxells*, *Lorrain* and *Mechlin*, and [h] *Iaques de Artevile* head of the *Gantois* Faction; who having quitted all duty to the baniſhed *Earle*, ſubmitted themſelves and moſt of *Flanders* to the ſervice and protection of *Edward* 3. who to free them of

Edward 3.
[d] *Froiſard.*
[e] *Rot. libera* 2. *m.* 6.
[f] *Rot. Alman. anno* 11.
[g] *Rot. Antuer. anno* 12.
[h] *Froiſard.*

of two Millions of Crowns, wherein, as a Caution of obedience to the Crown of *France*,[a] they stood bound as well by Oath as Obligation, took upon him the Title of King of *France*, and imployed *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant* and *Lorrain*, *William* Marquesse of *Iuliers*, and the Earle of *Henault* and *Holland*, his assured Friends, *Procuratores suos ad vendicandum Regnum Franciæ*, his Procurators to claim the Crown of *France*.[b] These his Allyes not long after meeting him at *Tournay* with 100000. men, as *Robert de Artoys* did with 50000. at S. *Omers* against the *French* King. And thus he attired and furnished his first enterprise, weaving into his Faction and support more and more, as often as either pretence or just occasions would give him leave. By[c] colour of Marriage he drew in the King of *Sicilie* in the 18th. year, the Duke of *Millain*, and the King of *Castile* for mutuall aide; and[d] *Simon Butangre* Duke of *Genoa*, and his Subjects for hire and reward. In the 19. yeare[e] the questionable Title of the *Dutchie* of *Britain* assured him of *Iohn de Montford*; against whom the[f] *French* King maintained *Charles de Bloys* for that *Dutchie*. In *an.* 24.[g] he renewed the Contract with the *Genoeses*; and in 30. made a convention of Peace, *& mutui auxilii cum Rege Navarræ*, and of mutuall aide, with the King of *Navarre*. In[h] the 37. with *Peter* King of *Castile*: and in that and 41.[i] an alliance of Aide and Amity he entred with the Duke of *Britain*: and *an.* 45.[k] again with the *Genoeses* and *Lewis* Earle of *Flanders* and Duke of *Brabant*:[l] and *an.* 46. with *Ferdinand* King of *Portugall*.

Richard the second reneweth[m] in *an.* 1. the con-

a *Ex Rot. Antwerp. an.* 12.

b *Rot. Parl. anno* 14. *n.* 8.

c *clauſ. an.* 18. *m.* 25.

d *Dorſ. clauſ. an.* 18. *m.* 20.

e *Dorſ. clauſ. an.* 19. *m.* 14.

f *Froiſard.*

g *Rot. Pat. an.* 24. *n.* 8.

h *Ex originali de anno* 37. *in lib. Ro. Cotton.*

i *Ex orig. in Theſ. Weſt. de annis* 37. *& 41.*

k *Ex orig. ſub ſigillo.*

l *Ex Contract. origin. in Archiv. Theſ. Weſtm.*

m *Clauſ. an.* 1. *R.* 2.

confederation that his Grandfather had with the Duke of *Britain*; and with whom *anno* 3. he contracted anew, as he had done *anno* 2. with *Lewis* [a] Earle of *Flanders*. In the 6. [b] yeare he combineth with the *Flemings* [c] *contra inimicos communes*, against the enemies of them both; with [d] the Kings of *Naples*, *Sicilie*, *Navarre* and *Arragon*, *de mutuis auxiliis*, for mutual aide; [e] & with *Wenceslaus* the Emperour *contra Carolum Regem Franciæ & Robertum Regem Scotiæ*, against *Charles* King of *France*, and *Robert* King of *Scotland*. In *an.* 8. [f] with the Kings of *Ierusalem*, *Sicilie*, & *Portugall*. In the 10. with *Portugall*, who at his own charges aided this King with 10. *Galleys*. And with *William* Duke of *Gueldres de mutuis auxiliis*, for mutuall aide. And *an.* 12. [g] 18. and 19. with *Albert* Duke of *Bavaria*. [h] And *an.* 20. with the Earle of *Ostrenant de retinentiis contra Regem Franciæ*, against the King of *France*. And *Rupertus* Count *Palatine* of the *Rhene an.* 20. became a *Homager* for term of life to this King.

Henry 4. entred alliance [i] of mutuall aid in 2. yeares with *William* Duke of *Gueldres* and *Mons*. [k] In the 12th. with *Sigismond* King of *Hungaria*. [l] And in the 13. by siding with the Factions of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, layed the *basis* upon which his Son that succeeded reared the *Trophies* of his Renown.

For *Henry* the fifth going forward upon the Advantage left and daily offered, strengthened himself *anno* 4. [m] by a League perpetuall with *Sigismond* the Emperour; renewing that of *Richard* the 2. [n] with *John* King of *Portugall*, as his Father had done. He entred a contract with

a *Rot. Franc. anno* 2.
b *Ex orig. in Thes.*
c *Rot. Parl. anno* 6. *n.* 11.
d *Ex Contract. in lib. Italico Rob. Cotton.*
e *Rot. Franciæ anno* 6. *m.* 28.
f *Rot. Franc. anno* 12. *m.* 16 *& anno* 18. *&.* 19.
g *Rot. Franc. an.* 12. *m.* 16. *& anno* 18. *&* 19.
h *Rot. Franc. anno* 20. *m.* 2.
i *Rot. claus. an.* 2. *Hen.* 4. *& Rot. Fran. anno* 2. *&* 3.
k *H.* 4. *m.* 6. Henry 4.
l *Rot. Franc. anno* 12. *H.* 4. *m.* 21. Henry. 5. *Tho. Walsingham.*
m *Ex Rot. Parl. anno* 4.
n *Ex orig. in Thes. Westm.*

with the Duke of *Britain*, and with the *Queen* of *Ierusalem* and *Lewis* her Son for the *Dutchie* of *Anion* and *Mayn*; and with the King of *Portugall* and Duke of *Bavaria* for supplie of men & Munition by them performed. [a] And the yeare before the battel of *Agincourt* sendeth the Lord *Henry Scrope* to contract with the Duke of *Burgundie* [b] & his Retinue for Wages *in servitio suo in Regno Franciæ vel Ducatu Aquitaniæ*, in his service in the Kingdome of *France*, or the Dutchy of *Aquitain*; esteeming the alliance of that house the readiest means to attaine his end.

a Ex chron. Rogeri Wall. in vita H. 5. anno 5. & 8.

b Ex Instruct. orig. 31. Aug. 5. H. 5.

Henry 6. [c] so long as he held the Amity of *Britain* (for which he contracted) and the confederacy of *Burgundy*, his friend of eldest assurance and best advantage, which he did to the 16th. yeare of his government, there was no great decline of his Fortune in *France*. But when *Burgundy* [d] brake the bond of our assurance, & betook him to the Amity of *France*, and dealt with this Crown but as a Merchant by way of intercourse, first at the Treaty of [e] *Bruges* 1442. then at [f] *Callis* 1446. the reputation and interest we held in *France* declined faster in the setting of this Son, then ever it increased in the rising of the Father.

Henry. 6.

c Ex contract. originali.

d Ex Tractat. Alrabatensi.

e Ex tractat. Brugens. 1442

f Ex tractat. Calliſiæ 1445. Ex tractat. Bruxellensi 1446.

And *Edward* the fourth who succeeded, sensible of this losse, woed by all the means either of Intercourse or Marriage to winne again the house of *Burgundy*, [g] which in *an.*7. he did, to joyn for the recovery of his right in *France*. [h] And drew in the yeare following the Duke of *Britain* to that Confederacy. In the [i] 11. yeare he renewed with *Charles* of *Burgundie* the bond of mutuall Aide; and contracted the next [k] yeare the like with the King of *Portugal*.

g Parl. an. 7. E. 4. n. 28. Edward 4.

h Rot. Franc. anno 8. m. 22. & ex contract. originali.

i Rot. Franc. an. 11. E. 4. m. 7.

k Rot. Franc. an. 12. m. 22. & ex orig. in Thes. westm.

And

And in *an.*14. *pro recuperatione Regni Franciæ contra Ludovicum Usurpantem*, for the recovery of the Kingdome of *France* out of the hands of *Lewis* the Usurper, ([a] as the Record is) entered a new Confederacy with the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britain*; [b] And in the end wrought from them a round Pension of money, though he could not any portion of land

Henry the 7. [c] *an.* 5. *&* 6. entertaineth an Alliance with *Spain* against the *French* King. The like in the 8. with the King of *Portugall*: and in the 10. [d] with the house of *Burgundy* for Intercourse and mutuall Aide.

Henry the 8. in *an.* 4. [e] reneweth the Amity of *Portugal*; and the next yeare combineth with the Emperour *Maximilian* against *Lewis* the *French* King, who aideth him out of *Artoys* and *Henault* with 4000. horse and 6000. foot; whereupon he winneth *Tournay*, [f] *Consilio, Auxilio, & favoribus Maximiliani Imperatoris*, with the advice, assistance, and countenance of the Emperour *Maximilian*. In *anno* 7. [g] to weaken the *French* King, he entreth league with the *Helvetian Cantons* by his Commissioners *Wingfield* and *Pace*; and with [h] *Charles* of *Spain* for Amity and mutuall Aide: into which *Maximilian* the Emperour and *Ioane* of *Spain* [i] were received the yeare following. [k] In *an.*12. with the Emperour *Charles* and [l] *Margaret* Regentesse of *Burgundy* he maketh a Confederation against *Francis* the *French* King, as the common enemy: *& quia Rex Angliæ non possit ex propriis Subditis tantum equitum numerum congerere*, the King of *England* could not furnish such a quantity of Horse of his own

[a] *Rot. Fran. anno* 14. *m.* 18 *&* 19.

[b] *Ex Contr. de anno* 1487. *pro solutione* 50000 *scutorum ad* 100. *annos.* Henry 7.

[c] *Rot. Fran. anno* 5. *&* 6. Hen. 7. *& Contract. origin. an.* 8. H. 7. Henry 8.

[d] *Ex magno Intercursu de an.* 1495.

[e] *Ex tract. original. de dat.* 1513.

[f] *Ex litera Max. Imp. Card. Ebor. dat.* 15.

[g] *Rot. Fran. anno* 7. H. 8.

[h] *Ex tract. Bruxellensi* 1515.

[i] *Ex originali subscript. card. Seduneñsi de dat.* 1516.

[k] *Ex tract. Calliſ. anno* 1521.

[l] *Ex tract. orig. subscript. manu Card. Ebor. & Margar. Regent.* 24. *Augusti.* 1521.

Subjects, as was mentioned in the contract, the Emperour giveth leave that he levy them in any his Dominions in *Germany*. And the Pope in furtherance of this intendment interdicteth the *French* territories, calleth in aide *Brachii Secularis*, of the Secular power, [a] those two Princes; appointeth the *Emperour Protectorem & advocatum Ecclesiæ*, the Churches Advocate and Protectour; & stileth their Attempt *sancta expeditio*, an holy expedition.[b] And this is by the Treaty at *Windsor* the next yeare confirmed and explained. Renewing in the years [c] 21. 35, and 38. the association, and bond of mutuall aide with the same Princes, and against the *French* King, if he brake not off his Amity with the *Turk*.

And although [d] *Edward* the 6. in the first year of his Reign made the Contract between the Crown of *England* and the house of *Burgundy* perpetuall; [e] yet forbore he to aide the Emperour in the wars of *France*, disabled (as he pretended) by reason of the Poverty the troubles of *Scotland* had drawn upon him; [f] And therefore offered the Town of *Bullen* to the Imperiall protection.

During the Reign of Queen *Mary*, there was no other but that [g] of Marriage, Aide and Entercourse with the *Emperor*, *Spain* and *Burgundy*; [h] and besides that tripartite bond at *Cambray* of Amity and Neutrality.

Our late Renowned Mistris entertained with the Prince of *Conde* [i] about *New-haven*, and [k] with *Charles* the 9. 1564. & at [l] *Bloys* 1572. with the King of *Navarre* before the accession of the Crown of *France* to him, and after *Britain*, and lastly by the Duke of *Bullen*

in

[a] *Ex tract. Winsor.* 1522.
[b] *Ex tract. Cambrens.* 1529.
[c] *Ex tract. Ultrajectens.*
[d] *Ex tract. de anno* 1543.
Ex originali dat. ultimo Janu. 1547.
[e] *Ex instruct. Rich. Morison* Edward 6.
[f] *Ex litera Ducis Somers. Magist. Pag.* 1549.
[g] *Ex contract. Matrimoniali* 1554.
[h] *Ex tract. Matr.* 1559. Queen Mary,
[i] *Ex artic. subscript. à Vidame de Chartres* 1562. Elizabeth.
[k] *Ex fœder. Trecens.* 1564
[l] *Ex tract. Vlesens.*

[a] in 96. And with the States of the *Netherlands* in the yeares 85. [b] and 98. divers Treaties of Amity, Confederation and Assistance.

[a] *Ex tract. Londini.* 1596.

[b] *Ex tract. cum ordin. Belgiæ de annis* 1585. *&* 1598.

By all these passages, (being all that well either our Story or *Records* can discover) it appeareth manifest the Kings of *England* never to have undertaken, or fortunately entertained any Forreign Enterprize without a party and confederate. Amongst which by situation, those of best advantage to us have been the Dukes of *Britain*; Lords of the *Netherlands*, the City of *Genoa*, the kings of *Portugall* and *Spain*, & the Empire, since knit into the house of *Burgundy*.

Confederacs of most benefit to England.

As for the remote and in-land Princes of *Germany*, the Kings of *Denmark*, *Poland* and *Sweden*, (so farre removed) I have seldome observed that this *Crown* hath with them contracted any League of Assistance or Confederacy, but of Amity and Entercourse onely.

Princes whose Confederation are of least benefit.

IT remaineth to observe a little, what were the reasons that first induced, and then preserved the Affection and Alliances of these severall Nations respectively to this Crown. The assurance we had of the State of *Genoa* was their Pensions and Traffique here. All which time by equality of Neighbourhood they stood of themselves without any jealousy of Surprize. But as soon as *Vicinum Incendium*, the fire began in *Millain*, they put themselves into the protection of *Spain*, foreseeing how dangerous it would be for a weak State to stand *Neutrall*, according to *Aristhenus* counsell to the *Ætolians*, [c] *Quid aliud quam nusquam gratia stabili præda victoris erimus*? What else will become

Bonds of Confederation cannot be the same they were before. As with the State of Genoa.

[c] *Livy Dec. 4. l. 2.*

of us, being in firm friendſhip with neither ſide, then to be made a prey to the Conquerour? Since which time *Spain* by eſtating *Doria*, *Grimaldi*, and the *Spinellos*, chief Families of that City, with great Patrimonies in *Naples*, retaining their Gallies in his perpetuall ſervice and ſalary, the Inhabitants of all ſorts in beneficiall Trade, and (no leſſe in Policy to ingage that City, then to ſupply his own Wants) continually owing the wealthieſt Citizens ſuch vaſt ſummes of money, as the Intereſt of late exceeded [a] 25. Millions; hee hath tyed it more ſure to the *Spaniſh* party, then if it were commanded by a *Cittadell*; ſo that it muſt ever now follow the faction and fortune of that Crown.

[a] *In Relatione de Statu Genuæ an.* 1595.

Navarro. Britain.

Navarre and *Britain* (while States of themſelves) were ſo long firm to our Confederacy, as they were tyed with the bond of their own Calamity, occaſioned by that power, which incorporating lately the one by Deſcent, the other by Contract, is by that Union and return of all the *Appennagii*, more potent now then ever it hath been under the Houſe of *Capet*.

Burgundie.

Burgundie was ſo long our friend, as either they were enriched by Staple of our Commodities, or had protection of our Swords againſt *France*, who not only claimed Soveraignty over moſt, but a proprietary intereſt in part; and therefore had reaſon to give aide and Armes to ſuch a Confederate as did by a diverſive war ſecure, and by particular Immunities inrich that State. But now growing into *Spain*, they need no ſuch aſſurance in the one; and we almoſt undone by their draping of our wooll, (which is happily called home,) not able to return them the benefit of the other, cannot preſume

ſume upon any ſuch aſſurance of their aide as heretofore.

Spain may ſeem to give us the beſt hope of a faſt Confederate for 2. reſpects. *Firſt*, for that he is abſolute, and that we be equally devoid of demand, neither having againſt the other any Titles. *Next*, for that the entercourſe of Trade is more reciprocall between us then *France*, and our Amity founded upon long love and old blood. To this may be made a two-fold anſwer, from the change of their Diſpoſitions: *Firſt*, for that they never aſſiſt any now, but to make themſelves Maſter of their State. Thus ended they the ſtrife between the Competitors of *Portugall*. And when they were called into *Naples* by the *Queen* againſt the *French*, they combined with her Adverſary, and divided the Kingdome. And after upon the River of *Garillon*, under their Leader *Gonſalves*, taking an advantage, they defeated the whole Army of the *French*, holding ever ſince that entire Kingdome themſelves. For *Spain* will admit neither Equallity nor Felowſhip, ſince upon Union of ſo many Kingdomes, and famous Diſcoveries, they begun to affect a fifth *Monarchie*. *The other*; that the late *hoſtilitie* between them and us hath drawn ſo much blood, as all formes of ancient Amity are quite waſht away: and as *Paterculus* [a] ſaith of *Carthage* to *Rome*, ſo may we of *Spain* to *England*, *Adeo odium Certaminibus ortum ultra metam durat, ut ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante inviſum eſſe deſinet quam eſſe deſiit:* The hatred begot by former quarrels doth endure ſo laſtingly, that the very conquered party cannot forget it; & in ſuch a caſe the very places muſt ceaſe to be, be- Spain.

a *Patercul.*

fore the hatred and envy towards it can ceaſe.

BEſides theſe locall conſiderations, there will 2. other Dangers now fall out from any Contract of mutuall aide: The one from diverſity of *Intention*, and the other of *Religion*. In the one, when either the Confederate hath ſafely attained his own ſecret End, (whatſoever he pretendeth in the entrance,) he leaveth the other to work out his own deſignes. Thus was *Hen.* 3. ſerved, called over by the Earls of *Tholouſe* and *March*; they in the mean time having made their Peace with *France*: [a] *Et expertus jam infidem, imo perfidiam* Pictavenſium, *turpiter receſſit, & feſtinans non pepercit Calcaribus*, inſomuch that having found the treachery and perfidiouſneſs of the *Poictovins*, he was forced diſhonourably to retreat, and for haſte to ſpurre away; the perill the poore King was left in being ſo great. He was handled like to this by *Pope Alexander* the fourth, who having drawn him into the warres of *Apulia* againſt *Manfred*, in the end, *depauperato Regno Angliæ, & undique bonis ſuis ſpoliato*, his Kingdome of *England* being impoveriſhed, and wholly deſpoiled of its Goods, left him to his own ſhift. The King of *Navarre* calling in the aide of *Edward* 3. [b] againſt *France*, and appointing the Iſle of *Gerſey* the *Rendezvous* of their forces, revolteth to the *French*, after he had by countenance of that preparation wrought his Peace. *Maximilian* the *Emperour* to induce *Henry* 8. not onely contracteth to aid him in perſon to recover the Crown of *France*, *& pro tyrannico Rege repellendo*, and to

Dangers in Confederacy by diverſity of Ends. Examples, that ends ſerved, Confederates quit all bonds of Combination

[a] *Matth Paris* 1242.

[b] *Rot. Parl. anno* 29. *E.* 3. *n.* 6.

to remove the tyrannicall King, (they are the words of the League;) but conferreth upon him in the ſame *Coronam Imperialem & Imperium Romanum*, the Imperiall Crown and the *Roman* Empire in reverſion; and eſtateth the *Dutchie* of *Millain* after recovery upon his perſon, *& ſuorum naturalium maſculini ſexus hæredum, modo feodorum Imperialium*, and his heires male lawfully begotten, to hold in Fee of the Empire: yet in the cloſe left the King to his own fortune, his turn for *Millain* and *Verona* ſerved. *Charles* the fifth when by the incurſion of the *French* he ſaw his portion in *Italy* diſtreſſed, in ſafety whereof conſiſted the whole *Pulſe* of the *Spaniſh*, (as he uſed himſelf to ſay,) for it ſupplied his Army with great Levies, and was fitly ſeated for a fifth *Monarchy*; he then ingaged *Hen.* 8. in the wars of *France*, and bound himſelf (as *Bourbon* his Confederate) that he would aſſiſt him to the full Conqueſt of that Kingdome, and the other ſhould become *Homager* to *Hen.* 8. as to his Soveraign. But after that *Bourbon* had advanced his Army and diſtreſſed the *French* King, he in his anſwer to *Maſter Pace* the Kings Ambaſſador refuſed that aſſurance of duty, and gave a juſt ſuſpition, that he by help of his Party intended to uſurp upon that State himſelf, which the *Emperour* never meant to the King of *England*; leaſt by ſuch footing in *France*, he might grow ſo great as to give law to his neighbours. And to fall off upon ſuch grounds hath ever been excuſable, howſoever the bonds of Alliance were. Thus did *Hen.* 8. as often change his hand of help, as either Princes of *Spain* & *France* got ground of the other. And the *Spaniard* now, to keep the

Suſpecting that an Allie may grow too great, diſſolveth alliance.

States in *Italie* disunited, compoundeth differences at his pleasure, or taketh part with the weaker, not suffering any, though his own dependant, to grow too strong: which was lately seen in patronizing the *D.* of *Mantua* against *Savoy*, according to the Rule of *Quinctius* in *Livy*, *Non tantum interest Ætolorũ opes minui*, it doth not stand us so much in hand to break the strength of the *Ætolians*, (yet they were enemies,) *quantum, non supra modum Philippum crescere*, as it doth to see that *Philip* grow not too potent, who was their friend.

Liv, lib. 34.

The difference in *Religion* may bring likewise a twofold danger. The one with our Confederates, the other with the Subjects of this Crown.

For whensoever we shall attempt upon a *Catholick Prince*, as *France*, where we have the faireſt pretences, for with any other we are like to have no question; then is all Contract of mutuall aide left to the election of our Confederate, who may with all ealines procure from the See of *Rome* a discharge of all Contracts, although they were by Oath. For if in Leagues where either party have been Catholicks, as that between *Edward* 3. and *Iohn* King of *France*, & that between *Iohn* of *Gaunt* and the King of *Castile*; they ever out of such suspect inserted this Clause, That neither side should procure *dispensationem*, &c. either *per Ecclesiam Romanam, vel per aliquam aliam*, a Dispensation either

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the Confederats, who May break by dispensation, though both Catholicks.

either by the Church of *Rome*, or any other way, to do *contra formam Tractatus*, contrary to the form of Agreement: how much more muſt their *jealouſie* be to us? And therefore in a Conſultation in *Henry* the 8ſ. time, [a] whether with beſt ſecurity we ſhould confederate with *France* or *Spain*, it was reſolved that either of them may ſlip off their advantage by colour of our Separation from the Church of *Rome*, if there be no better hold in their Honeſties then in their Bonds. For it will be held not onely worthy diſpenſation, but merit to break all Leagues with the enemies of that Church, by the Doctrine of that See; which teacheth all Contracts with any *Catholick* Prince to be *inſtanti* diſſolved, becauſe we are by them ranked in the liſt of *Hereticks*: which holds proportion with the Rule and Direction that *Urban* the ſixth ſent by [b] *Bull* to *Wenceſlaus* King of *Bohemia*, and *Charles* then *Emperor*, (before the Councill of *Conſtance*,) declaring all Confederations, Leagues and Con-

[a] *Ex original. in manu Dominii Cromwell.*

Danger by difference in Religion, in reſpect of the Confederates, who ought to break out of the Rom. doctrine, one accounted heretick.

Doctrine of the See of Rome touching leagues with Hereticks.

[b] *Ex Bulla origin. ſub ſigillo Urbani 6. an. pont. 4.*

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the Confederates, who

Ought to break out of the Rom. doctrine, one accounted heretick

Conventions to be *Lege Divina temerariæ, illicitæ, & ipso jure nullæ, etiamsi forent fide data firmatæ, aut Confirmatione Apostolica roboratæ*, to be by the Law of God invalid, void, and in law null, although confirmed by the plighting of faith, nay though strengthened by confirmation Apostolicall, if the parties were *separatæ ab Unitate sanctæ Ecclesiæ*, separate from the Unity of Holy Church, when the league was made; or, *si postea sint effecti*, if they become so after. What assurance can there then be, either with *France*, who is received, by his *Rebenediction*, into the Bosome of the *Church*, and his sonne made *Adoptivus Filius Ecclesiæ*, an adopted Son of the Church; or against him with *Spain*, who being *Protector* and *Champion* of that See *Apostolick*, submitteth himself (as he hath ever done) to the Popes pleasure and designe, and must not onely forsake, but aide against us in any warre we should there undertake?

Be-

Besides it is considerable, how-soever all sides of our own will joyn in point of defence to a mutuall aide; whether they will so in a forrain Invasion; (especially when the party assailed shall be of their own Religion.) For when the Interdiction of the Pope could draw against *John* King of *England* & [a] *Lewis* the 12. a side of their own Subjects, (as it did after in the same Kingdome against *Hen.* 3. though all 3. conformable in points of Religion to that See;) how much more will it work with the people devoted to their opinions in a State divided from their obedience? For amongst us the *Catholick Church* hath many *Iesuites* to raise Faction, and divert people from duty; the *Recusants* many, and *Malecontents* not few; all which with warre will discover themselves, but now by this happy calm unassured of assistance, lock up their riches in security, & their hearts in silence. And therefore by any enterprize, it is not with the rule of *Seneca* safe, *concutere felicem statum.* For provoking of some adversary in respect of Papall protection, they pick advantage to ground a quarrel of Religion: & then the *sancta Expeditio*, the holy expedition against *Lewis*, will be made *Bellum Sacrum*, a holy Warre against us.

Subjects obedient to the Popes Censure a dangerous Party.

[a] *Ex Eulogio Hist.*

Danger by difference in Religion, in respect of the Subjects.

But admitting no lesse then in former times an easinesse to attempt; it is not a meditation unnecessary to think in generall of the dangers and impossibilities to *retain*. For first we must more then transgresse *Limites quos posuerunt Patres*, the Bounds which our Fathers owned;

Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos,

And *Britans* from the world wholy divided; and relinquish that defence of Nature, wherewith she hath incirculed, divided, and secured us from the whole world;

a *Festus Avienus.* (a *Te natura potens Pelago divisit ab omni*
Parte orbis, tuta ut semper ab hoste fores.
From all the Earth Nature hath parted thee
With Seas, and set thee safe from Enemy.)

Danger of large Frontiers. and commit our Frontiers (had we never so much upon the next Continent) to the protection of an Army, which besides the continuall Charge, if we give Ambitious and able Commanders, (as unable for our Interest we will not,) how ready shall it be in such a Leader, and backt, if he please, to give Law to his own countrey? For Trifles will be quarrels good enough for such as can make them good by Power; And whensoever means and Ambition leads any to trouble the State, he will be sure to colour his pretext with honest Titles. b *Alii, sicuti Iura populi defenderent; Pars, quo Senatus authoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes*: some declaring to maintain the rights of the People, others to uphold the authority of the Senate, all pretending to act for the publick good. Hence was it that *Augustus* c refused to add any more of the Barbarous Nations to the body of his Empire, which with great facility he might have done; d and to restrain that infinite and unsafe desire of

b *Sallust. in Bello Catil.*

c *Suetonius in vita Augusti.*

d *Dion Cassius*

en-

enlarging, left in Charge to his Succeſſors that eſpeciall point of advice, [a] *coercendi intra Terminos Imperii*, to keep the Empire within due & fitting bounds. The like moderation from the ſame ground was in the late *Queen*, who refuſed the ſoveraignty of the *Netherlands*, [b] ſo often and earneſtly offered to her, fore-ſeeing well, that as her State ſhould grow more reſpective by addition of People, and augmentation of Territory; ſo Factions and Diſcontents (a common accident in worldly affaires) would ariſe from ſuperfluity. Beſides, the State that may beſt admit increaſe is that, unto which addition may be on every part indifferently. Such was the advantage of *Rome*, by being ſituate in the middeſt of *Europe*: whereas we are thruſt out of the world; to which we have no other contiguity, then an unſure element of fluxible foundation, the Sea, ſubject to tempeſt, contrariety of wind, and more commodious for a potent enemy to intercept, then our ſelves to ſecure. For how large ſoever any Kingdome is, all great directions move from one place, commonly from one man, as the Heart in the Body. It is therefore neceſsary that the ſeat be ſo placed, that as well Intelligence as Diſpatch may ſafely paſſe with indifferency and aſſured Speed: And thoſe Forms are moſt quick and eaſy in motion, whoſe extremes are all equally diſtant from the Centre; for the more different from the Circle, the more ſlow and hard. *Rome* may ſufficiently example this: For ſo long as the *Orbe* of that Empire ſo moved about her, all things kept on their courſe with order, and eaſe; but after the Seate was by [c] *Conſtantine* removed to an extremity of the Circle, it ſtood a while ſtill, and in the end diſſolved. For either through the maſſe

[a] *Tacitus.*

[b] *Ex propoſit. Statuum de anno* 1585.

What State may beſt admit addition.

[c] *Zozimus in vita Conſtantini.*

masse of Businesse, the limitednesse of any mans sufficiency, or impossibility to consider all due Circumstances but in *re præsenti*, there must fall out infinite defects in the directions. Or if none, either by reason of Distance they come too late, or if not, by reason of Remotenesse, he who is to execute will be bolder with his Instructions then is fit for a Minister to be. How dangerous is it then by addition of Territories for our Master, [a] *Alterum pene Imperio nostro & suo quærenti Orbem*, whilest he is seekng to joyn another world, in a manner, to his and our Empire, to alter either the setled order of directions, or walls of our securitie. Besides, as in the Frames of Nature *Anima rationalis*, the rationall soul cannot *informare*, give life, sense, or discourse to the matter of an *Elephant* or a *Fly*; (or any other body disproportionable to a Form so qualified:) so is there as well a bound of amplitude and strictnesse wherein the soul of Government is comprised; [b] Between which extremes there are many degrees of Latitude, some approaching to the greatest (that nature seldome or never produceth) some to the least, and some to the mean; beyond which proportions respectively though some may have a will to effect, they never can have a power to attaine. And this we may see in the former accession of so much to us in *France*, which we could never either with Profit or Assurance retain, being gotten by Conquest, and but tacked to by Garrison, contrary to the nature of Hereditary *Monarchies*. For some Kingdomes (in which number this may be accounted) are of the same condition that *Demosthenes* [c] maketh the *Athenians*: *Non ea vestra ingenia sunt, ut ipsi aliis vi oppressis Imperia teneatis; sed in eo magna sunt*

[a] *Velleius Paterc. de Expeditione Cæsaris.*

[b] *Bodin. de Repub. lib. 6.*

[c] *Exorat. Demosth. ad Athenienses.*

ſunt vires veſtræ, ut alium potiri principatu prohibeatis, aut potitum exturbetis; It is not your way, violently to oppreſſe other States and ſeize the Government; but in this is your ſtrength manifeſt, that you can hinder another from poſſeſſing the Government, or when he is poſſeſſed of it, throw him out again. Since then by *Situation* and Power we are the fitteſt, either to combine or keep ſeverall the moſt potent and warlike Nations of the *Weſt*, it is the beſt for *Safety*, and the moſt for *Honour*, to remain as we were, *Arbiters* of *Europe*, and ſo by *Neutralitie* ſway ſtill the Ballance of our mightieſt Neighbours: which by holding of our hands, and onely looking on, we ſhall eaſily do, ſince *Spain* and *France* hang ſo indifferently, that a little weight will caſt the Beam; imploying ours, as *Claudius* did his Forces in a *Germanie*, *ut ſubſidio victis, Victoribus terrori eſſent, ne forte elati Pacem turbarent*, to aſſiſt the Conquered party, and to over-awe the Victor, leſt he ſhould be puffed up with pride, and diſturb our peace. Thus did *Hen.* 8. with the *French* and *Spaniſh* Princes, uſing as his *Motto* of Honour and Power this, *Cui adhæreo præeſt*, He rules whom I ſtick to. And the late *Queen* ſtudied rather how to guard her Allies, then to inlarge her Dominions, multiplying her Leagues more by giving then receiving gratuities; winking at her own wrongs, rather then willing to revenge. And (as the great Miſtris of the world once) did what rather became her Greatneſs, then what ſeverity of Armes required. Hence were her Seas for the moſt part freed from Pirates, and her Land here cleared of Enemies. For according to *Micipſae's* counſell to *Jugurth*, *Non exercitus, neque Theſauri præſidia*

Safetie in Neutralitie.

a *Tacitus & Dion Caſſius.*

Regni

Regni sunt; Neither Armyes nor Treasure are the safety of a Kingdome: but such Allies as neither Armes constrain, nor monyes purchase, *sed officio & fide pariuntur*. And since by fortune of the times succeeding, this State hath grown more upon Opinion then Deed, and that we know *Magis fama quam vi stare res nostras*, that our affairs stand rather by Fame then Force; it is most safe, neither to discover weaknes, nor hazzard losse by any attempt. Besides, standing as we do no waies obnoxious by *Site* to any of our neighbours, they will alwaies be ready to referre the judgement & order of their differences to us. As the a *Brabanters* and *Henowayes* to the Arbitrement of *Edward* the third: and b *Charles* the fifth and *Francis* the *French* King the decision of their quarrel to *Henry* the eighth. Thus every part shall woe us, all Princes by their Oratours shall resort unto us, as to the Common *Consistorie* of judgement in their debates, and thereby add more to our Reputation then any power of our own. For as well in States as in Persons, Suitours are an infallible token of Greatnes; which *Demosthenes* c told the *Athenians* they had lost, since none resorted to their *Curia* or *Prætorium*. By this way shall we gain the Seat of *Honour*, *Riches*, and *Safety*; and in all other but endlesse *Expence*, *Trouble* and *Danger*.

Honour attained by Neutrality, in being the Arbiter of all differences between the mightiest Neighbours.

a *Froisard.*

b *Ex Regist. & libris Tractatuum.*

c *Ex Demost. 4 Philip.*

Robert Cotton Bruceus.

FINIS.

THE FRENCH CHARITY:

WRITTEN

In *French* by an *Engliſh* Gentleman, upon occaſion of Prince *Harcourt's* coming into *ENGLAND*;

And tranſlated into Engliſh by F. S. J. E.

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THE FRENCH CHARITY.

ALthough we ſee that naturall cauſes produce ſometimes contrary effects, that the Sun which draws up the Clouds can alſo ſcatter them, that the ſame Wind both lights and blow's out the taper, that Vipers ſerve for wholeſome medicaments, and Scorpions carry about them an Antidote to their own poiſon: it is not ſo nevertheleſſe in morall and politick affairs, wherein that which is once ill, is alwayes accounted ſuch; from whence is begot in us that quality which we call Experience, *whereby wiſe men are accuſtomed to judge of preſent and future actions by thoſe that are paſt. Which is the foundation whereupon all Monarchies and Republicks have eſtabliſhed the Maxims of their ſubſiſtence, and found out both what they ought to follow and what to avoid.*

The Charity which France *hath teſtified to pacify our differences is ſo great that it is become incredible, ſo unſeaſonable that it is ſuſpected, and ſo contrary to their former proceedings that it is quite otherwayes underſtood. Philoſophers ſay, we cannot paſſe from one extremity to another without ſome mean; I cannot ſee by what ſteps they are come to this perfect goodneſs, nor what good* Genius *can have made them in an inſtant ſo good friends of ſuch dangerous neighbours to us. I will paſſe my cenſure upon nothing, yet let me have the liberty to judge of all. I find ſo great a wonder in this change, that I find a conflict in my ſelf to believe it. It is no common marvell, that thoſe who have for ſo long a time beheld all* Europe *in a flame, and could not be moved by the blond and deſtruction of ſo many people to caſt thereon one drop of water, ſhould now have their bowells ſo tender as to compaſſionate the diſſenſions ariſing in a corner of the world which hath alwayes bin fatall to them; That thoſe who have made it their chiefeſt intereſt to divide us, ſhould now make it their glory to reunite us; That thoſe who place their reſt in our troubles, ſhould now apply their cares for our repoſe; and that after*

after they have caſt us down headl ng, they ſhould reach us a plank for to come aſhore. Let the wiſe Reader here (whilſt I determine nothing) allow me at leaſt a little diſtruſt; it is the Mother of Safety. The Trojans, *who could not be overcome by Armes, periſh't by a pledge of peace. All the* French *civilityes are faire and good; but in the bottome*

Quicquid id eſt, timeo Gallos, & dona ferentes.

Let us ſee what reaſons can oblige them to intereſt themſelves ſo paſſionately in our agreement. Is it Religion? ſurely no; for that which they profeſſe is contrary to that of this Kingdome; and the little Charity *they have for their own, ought not to perſwade us that they have much for ours. Is it for the inclination they have to peace? ſurely no; for if they eſteemed it a benefit, they would ſeek it firſt for themſelves. It is perhaps for an acknowledgement of their obligations to us in the late warres, and for the aſſiſtance we gave to thoſe of* Rochel. *Is this would be truely Chriſtian indeed, to render us good for evill. They will ſay that they are the bands of blood and parentage, which bind them to the* Queen; *and yet they have let the Mother beg her ſubſi-*

ſtence and retreat among ſtrangers, which ſhe could not find with them, and having beheld her without pitty and ſuccour in her greateſt extremities, they adviſe to offer her a remedy upon the declining of her ill. But if this be the reaſon of their admittance, I conceive them no lawfull nor indifferent Mediators, ſince they are ſo much concern'd in one of the parties. They will whiſper us in the eare, that the deſigne is to pacify us, and to ingage us in a league with them againſt the Spaniard; although at the ſame time they deſigne Ambaſſadours for Munſter to endeavour a peace with him. O, we ſhould wrong them very much to believe it, though they might ſeem in an humour to deſire it of us; They are too gallant ſpirited to pretend it, they know that we are better adviſed then to ſerve them to pull their Cheſnut out of the fire; that a body recovering health from a long ſickneſſe ought not to expoſe it ſelf to a violent agitation; that the State will find it ſelf loaden with debts, and the Subject exhauſted by Contributions; that we ought to preferre the evident profit of traffick before the uncertain vanity of a conqueſt; that Iealouſies being not yet removed, nor æmulations ſuppreſt, all kind of arming would be ſuſpected

by

by the State, fearing leaſt ſome under pretenſe of a forrain warre might ſtudy private revenge, or the oppreſſion of the publick liberty; & that in the end it will be our gain to ſee them deal with Spain, *and to make our advantage of their troubles, or not to meddle at all with them, unleſſe by adding ſecretly (according to the revolution of affairs) a little weight to them that ſhall be found the lighter. If then it be none of theſe motives, it remains that it muſt be either Generoſity, or deceit. O* Generoſity *(that haſt ſo long ſince withdrawn thy ſelf to heaven, there to keep company with the faire* Aſtræa, *or rather, who wer't buried in* France *in the Sepulchre of Monſieur* Gonin) *is it poſſible that thou ſhouldſt be riſen again, or that* France *ſhould have recall'd thee with her exiles ſince the death of her King; and that the firſt labour ſhe ſhould put thee to ſhould be in favour of* England, *againſt whom but few dayes ſince ſhe ſhewed ſuch violent reſentments, for an offence received by a pretended violation of the treaties which had paſt between us? Truely if it be ſhe, we muſt reverence her with extraordinary reſpects; but before we give her the Honours due unto her, we muſt know her, for feare of Idolatry in*

adoring her maſque for her ſelf, or embracing a cloud in ſtead of a Goddeſſe. Let us give a thruſt with our launce into the Trojan *horſe, to ſee if there be no ambuſh within.*

In walking lately with ſome French *Gentlemen (as this nation is free enough of their diſcourſe) a word eſcaped from one of the company without making reflexion (as I think) of what Countrey I was, That amongſt their Prophets there was one which ſaid, That* the Conqueſt of England was promiſed to their young King. *This thought caſt into the aire though inconſideratly, ſeemed to me very conſiderable; and having given me an occaſion to reflect upon all things both paſt and preſent, it ſerved me as a light to guide me in the obſcurity of this Labyrinth, upon which before I had reaſoned but ſuperficially. From thence being returned to my lodging, I opened accidentally a book of Monſieur* de Rohan, *intitled* The intereſt of the Princes of Chriſtendome, *and I fell preſently upon a paſſage where he ſaid, That one of the ſureſt wayes to make ones ſelf Maſter of a State, is to interpoſe and make himſelf arbiter of its differences. I had no need of any other* Oedipus *to expound to me the riddle of the Propheſy, theſe firſt motives of ſuſpicion*

having

having caſt me into more profound thoughts, I revolved in my mind how France *had managed the whole buſineſs, both before & ſince the beginning of our troubles, and weighed all the circumſtances of this Ambaſſage. Why ſuch a ſolemne Ambaſſage in a time when all things ſeem moſt exaſperated and furtheſt from accommodation? Why then not ſooner, while differences were not yet irreconcileable between the two parties? Why ſuch a warlike Prince, who is not experienced in the affaires of this Kingdome, to manage a negotiation of a peace the moſt nice and intricate that the world at this time affords? Why at the ſame time levying of Souldiers in* Normandy, *when all the other troops are in their quarters? Why therefore ſhould they ſupply one of the parties with mony, when they come to act the perſons of mediatours; if not to caſt wood and oyle into the flame? Why at the ſame time an Agent in* Scotland, *who propounds to them openly a League with* France? *Why begin they onely to turn their cares upon* England, *when they are upon the point of concluding a peace with* Spain? *May not we well judge that it is to prepare themſelves for a new employment? ſince they themſelves confeſſe that their boiling and unquiet temper hath*

need

need of continuall exerciſe, and that the onely means to prevent troubles at home, is continually to furniſh them with matter whereupon to evacuate their choler abroad. Why doth onely France *afford us this ſo ſuddain and unexpected Charity, after all the freſh wounds which bleed yet among them becauſe of the expulſion of the* Capuchins, *after the continuall cares ſhe hath taken for ſo many years to lay the foundation of our troubles by the ſecret negotiations of the Marquis of* Blainville, *by the intriques of the Cardinal of* Richelieu *with* Buckingham, *by the long plots in* Scotland, *and by the open ſollicitations of the Marquis* de la Fert? *by all which they ſometimes incited the Kings miniſters to make him independent and abſolute, offering to that purpoſe their aſſiſtance, and anone they ſollicited the States to ſhake off the yoak of ſervitude, finally they transformed themſelves into a thouſand different ſhapes, till having plunged us deep enough in the gulf, they then call back their Ambaſſage, to give in appearance ſome ſatisfaction to the King, but in truth becauſe his commiſſion was expired. May not we well conclude from all this, that they will now reape the fruits they have ſo carefully ſown and cultivated among ſt us?*

From

From theſe conſiderations falling inſenſibly on thoſe of England, *what need (ſaid I in my ſelf) have we of the intermeddling of ſtrangers? are they more verſed in our intereſts then our ſelves? can they afford more expedients? are they more ſenſible of our miſeries then thoſe that ſuffer them? Is it to exhort us, or to conſtrain us? the firſt is ſuperfluous; the ſecond dangerous. It muſt needs be that either in the one caſe they think to go beyond us in wit, or in the other to maſter us by force. If peace be profitable for us, have we any need either of a Maſter to make us know our advantage, or of an Oratour to perſwade us to it? If it be hurtfull to us, we ought to give them thanks for their advice, but follow that which is better. If the peace be feaſible, why ſhould we leave the glory of it to others? if impoſſible, why looſe time in making vain propoſitions? why ſhould we acquaint ſtrong and ambitious neighbours, and truſt the* Philiſtins *with the ſecret of our force? Muſt* England, *that hath in times paſt compelled* France *to purchaſe peace, be now conſtrained to beg it of her? that one of the moſt conſiderable and flouriſhing Monarchies of the world ſhould ſerve for matter of ſport to the vanity of the* French, *and be the firſt upon*

whom

whom they exercise the Title they give themselves of being Arbiters of Christendome? What Counsel then shall we follow in this encounter? That of good and wise Nature, who having separated us from all other Nations by a vast and deep trench, silently teacheth us, that the principle of our subsistence is in our selves, and that we ought not to submit our government to the arbitrement of others.

FINIS.